MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

'ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONĪ.

VOLUME III

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
AND EDITED BY

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Revised and enlarged
with an account containing
EVALUATION OF BADĀYUNĪ & HIS MUNTAKHABU-T-TWĀRIKH

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FOREWORD

The Academica Asiatica has been founded at Patna with a view to publishing research works, including rare volumes in history, archaeology and allied subjects. This is a laudable venture of Shri Ram Britt Singh and Shri Shambhu Nath. Its publication will be of immense and abiding value to the world of scholarship in the aforesaid fields.

The Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, of Al-Badāonī (A.D. 1540-1615), compiled shortly before his death in A. D. 1615, written as it is in a spirit of disgust against the eclecticism of emperor Akbar and his two close associates, namely, Faiẓī and Abul Faẓl in particular, for their having breached Islamic orthodoxy, a dis-satisfaction having been further heightened in its biting invectives against them by author's growing sense of frustration to get proper dues at the hands of his master in the field of material advancement, happily in the sum-total of its effects acts as a necessary corrective to and a brake against the over-laudatory panegyric of Abul Faẓl's *Akbarnāma*. Al Badāonī's sacred mission, while composing *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, was to "write correctly", keeping "God" as "witness" in view, whatever may be said to the detriment of his detached and dispassionate presentation of facts, a sacred mission which the Fate has ordained for Niẓāmuddīn to be credited with in his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī;* the fact essentially remains that *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* is more of the type of memoirs rather than histories and recalls to memory the *Memoirs*

of St. Simon. Here-in lies the value of Al Badāonī's *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh*.

The English translation of Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh was published at Calcutta in three volumes. The first volume, translated by George S. A. Ranking, M. D. (Cantab), M. R. A. S., and published in A. D. 1898, deals with the history of India from Subuktagīn (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humāyūn in January, *A. D. 1556*.

The second volume translated by Lowe and published in A. D. 1884 treats the first forty years of Akbar's reign.

The third and the last volume, translated by Sir Wolseley Haig, R. C. I. E., C. S. I., C. R. G., and published in A. D. 1925, gives the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of Akbar.

In this new edition of Vol. III of Sir Wolsely Haig's translation valuable additions have been made on "Evaluation of Badāyūnī and his Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh."

I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my sense of gratefulness to my learned friend Dr. Yogendra Mishra for his valuble suggestion in planning the additions made in this book. In the added portions modern system of diacritical marks has been followed.

B. P. Ambashthya

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This volume completes the translation of the *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-'l-Qādir b. Mulūk Shāh, al-Badāonī, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. Its sources are those enumerated by Lieutenant-Colonel G. S. A. Ranking in the preface to his translation of volume I.

It was begun as long ago as 1897, but owing to the constant pressure of official duties was not finished until 1909, and even then could not be immediately printed owing to difficulties in the way of allotting funds for the expenses of publication. The index and list of errata have only lately been finished.

Frequent interruptions in the work are responsible for some inconsistencies in transliteration—such, for instance, as Shamsu-'d-din and Shams-ud-din, Khāja, Kh'āja, and Khwāja. My excuse for the frequent omission of any equivalent for the letter ʾ in transliterating the latter word is that the translation was made, for the most part, in India, where the frequent pronunciation of this mute letter was so offensive that at the time I judged it better to preserve the correct pronunciation by omitting it. I confess that this is not a very good excuse for the omission of a letter, but it is the best that I can offer.

I have nothing to add to Lieutenant-Colonel Ranking's remarks on the difficulty of translating from Persian, except that they apply with peculiar force to an author like Badāonī, writing in a language not his own. His style is stilted and inelegant, as must nearly always be the case with an author labouring under this disadvantage, and he persists in one error —the misuse of the word ḥasad, which means "ungrudging emulation," but is always used by him in the sense of "envy" —but it is free from the bombastic prolixity and gross affectation of that of his compatriot and contemporary, Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl.

As this volume of the historian's work consists to a great

extent of literary criticism, I have been careful to translate both his text and the excerpts of verse quoted by him as literally as possible, in order to convey some idea, however faint, of his standard of literary excellence. In only one or two passages, to which reference is made in notes, have I ventured to modify expressions which in an English dress would have been merely ridiculous; but I am conscious that many of the passages which I have rendered more exactly will appear grotesque. This was unavoidable, and is due partly to the wide divergence between the standards of taste of Persian writers of the sixteenth and English readers of the twentieth centuries, and partly to Badāonī's own defects.

A few passages are so indecent that I have been constrained to veil them in such disguise as a dead language affords. To this practice it may be objected that it calls attention to what is unseemly, but a book of this nature will seldom be taken up but by genuine seekers after knowledge, who are not likely to suffer harm from the obscenities of Badāonī, or of those whom he quotes.

Interruptions in the work of translation are also responsible for a rather long list of *errata*, for which, and for other imperfections I crave the indulgence of my readers.

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April 7, 1924.

INTRODUCTION

Evaluation of Badāyūnī and his Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh

Badāyūnī deserves to be evaluated in correct proportions and in a detached and dispassionate spirit in order to fathom him properly. As is well known, he was tutored by men like *Miyān* Ḥātim of Sambhal who, despite being not liberal in the modern sense of the term, could very well be said to have possessed sound fund of good-will, bereft of fanaticism and the over-bearing arrogance of the fanatically learned.[1] Badāyūnī studied at the feet of the *Śaikh* Mubārak of Nāgor, the father of Faiẓī and Abul Faẓl, the *śaikh* having been noted for his liberalism and having been an ardent advocate of the *Mahdavis*. He was frequengly taken by his father to visit the *sūfīs* and men of piety, and this had led in him to develop an attitude of reverence for them. He was versed well enough in theology and jurisprudence to out-do the *ùlamās* in their own field of theology and to turn the table finally against them. It was because of his scholastic accomplishment and competence to bring to bay the over-bearing and conceited *ùlamās* in the imperial court that he could win for himself a place in the estimate of Akbar. What he chronicled about Maulāna Ábdullāh Sulṭānpūrī and Śaikh Ábdun-Nabī, when read in conjuction with his more sympathetic account of the *Mahdavi* leaders, viz,

1. Mujeeb, Badāyūnī, published in *Historians of Medieval India*, 1968, Meerut, edited by Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 107-11.

Miyān Ábdullāh Niyāzi and Śaikh Álāī, is quite good enough to show that he was orthodox, but was above narrow-mindedness and was not opaque to sensitivity. He was sarcastic and condemnatory in his remark against impostors who exploited the fair name of the *sūfīs* to carve out for themselves arenas of wealth and win privileged treatment from kings and their nobility. But he had nothing to say even against those *sūfīs* who were idiosyncratic enough to be construed as heretical. He always spoke of Śaikh Mubārak Nāgorī with reverence, despite the fact that *śaikh* was the man to have originated the concept about the superiority of the *Imām-i-Ādil* over the *ùlamās* and had himself given a *fatwā* for the same, and had once told Bīrbal, against whom Badāyūnī had an instinctive dislike, in the presence of emperor Akbar that one could find interpolations and accretions as much in the sacred books of the Hindūs as in the holy scriptures of Islām and one found oneself out-witted as to how to repose trust in them.[2] His very chronogram to indicate the death of Śaikh Mubārak Nāgorī is "The perfect *śaikh*"[3] and, which confirms the fact that Badāyūnī's unstinted and undiminished reverence for the *śaikh* held the ground till the last.

Badāyūnī is fairly conscious of his scholarly accomplisment to carry on his dialogue successfully as a disputationist, but he is equally aware of having no illusion about his piety. He has the courage to admit

2. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, p. 312, 1865 edn., Calcutta.
3. Ibid, p. 388.

his own folly, without extenuating it even in the least, when he mentions an incident in which he was wounded, and might have been even killed by the urchins for having made an offer of love to the wrong woman in the wrong place; and one may summarily dismiss his frequent reference to his own sinfulness as purely formal. His sense of truthfulness, even if perverted, could axe as much against others as against himself.

That being so, it looks strange and queer as to why Akbar and Badāyūnī changed their opinions about each other. While Akbar took Badāyūnī to be a fanatic at the core of his heart, Badāyūnī became strongly malicious in his condemnation of Akbar's policies and ideas. Badāyūnī chronicled as to how emperor Akbar once asked him to turn up in his presence, and when he did so, the emperor told Abul Faẓl : "I thought this youngman had attained the state of annihilation and followed the path of the *sūfīs* but he has turned out to be such a fanatical theologian that no sword could cut through the jugular vein of his fanaticiam."[4] Akbar's suspicion, in the opinion of Badāyūnī, indicated that the emperor's attitude had hardened up in principle, if not in practice, not to allow a wide latitude to his Muslim courtiers and favourites in the matter of their belief. Hence it is neither expedient nor wise to dismiss summarily the bitter criticism of Badāyūnī against Akbar's reforms and his favourites as if they owed their origin to his sheer maliciously fanatical disposition.

It was a well-known fact as to what Badāyūnī

4. Ibid, p. 399.

thought of Śaikh Ábdun-Nabī, Maulāna Ábdullāh Sulṭānpūrī and in general of all such *úlamās* who attended the imperial courts, be they of Akbar or Islām Śāh. But did this provide a tenable ground to slander all the *úlamās* and deny the value and importance of cultivating the study of theology. Did this give a plausible occasion to turn away from the *śarīát*. If the perversity of a set of *úlamās* could be cited as a lever against the *úlamās* as a class, what could be had about the courtiers, especially those who were so close to Akbar and who were no less erring. Badāyūnī felt, and probably rightly, that they did not deserve lenient treatment, if, in ommissions and commissions, their faults were no better than those of the official *úlamās*. Both had breached the *śarīát*, and it was this breach of *śarīát*, which alone constituted the final measuring rod or criterion to judge the tenability or otherwise of the action.

The question arises if it is possible to define the Śarīàt precisely enough to serve as a criterion or a measuring rod. Here lies Badāyūnī's weak point exposed. How to make a pick and choose between the mischiefmongering and notoriously wicked *úlamās* who claimed to represent the *śarīát* and wileful intellectuals and such others attached to the court who made a capital out of its derision for their cynicism. Badāyūnī, faced with this situation, lost his mental equilibrium and went to the lowest abyss of perversity in heaping abuses on Faiẓī and Abul Faẓl who had remained his benefactors and well-wishers throughout his stay at the court. But he was definitely not mean in the marrow of his bones. He, like many educated Muslims who flourished in the second-

half of the nineteenth and towards the begining of the twentieth centuries, appears to have felt disposed to think that while the brief for the úlamās is indefensible and that Muslim ways of life in India has to undergo a change for liberalization, a proper regard for the Śarīàt is essential to be maintained at all costs. Badāyūnī had found in his day that while the righteous *úlamās* were being persecuted, the wicked ones were on the saddle in power and he might have felt quite reasonably that in such a situation if the acts of the court stimulated the rise of a general sentiment to gain currency against the official *úlamās* and their enforcement of the *śarīàt* as if they were all mere shambles, the Śarīàt itself which constituted the main spring-board to lead the Muslim way of life, was destined to break up in its wreckage. Badāyūnī, therefore, unleashed his crusade in words against those who were lukewarm in their faith and attitude to the Śarīàt and who were mainly accountable in eroding the faith of the emperor for it.

Badāyūnī had no sound fund of disposition for a serious investigation, so essential a concomitant for a rigorous research of quality, and had absolutely no likings to add to the volume on the extant historical knowledge of his times. He states quite explicitly that he drew upon *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Śāhī* and *Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhsi's Niẓāmu-T-Tawārīkh*, also called as *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, as the exclusive source to weave the texture of history, his *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, to cover the period commencing with the foundation of the *Dehli Sulṭanat* down to his own days. But here he did insert

"samething of his own."[5] An examination of what he calls "something of his own" in chronicling *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, amply bears out the deduction that Badāyūnī had no passion to accord the narrations on political history at full length. This finding receives substantiation by the very remark of Badāyūnī in the introductory statement in this book of his to the effect that he would chronicle about each king in brief. One not only finds his narrative strewn over all through with verses, quatrains, chronograms and *qaṣīdās*, but one finds startled to know from Badāyūnī that recording of poetry is as much important in itself, if not greater, as the chronicling of political events themselves. As such it is not the least strange to find Badāyūnī in *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* giving greater coverage and assigning larger importance to a poet and his poetry in between the elevation of Raẓiā to the throne and an account of her rule. Likewise he devotes in the said chronicle of his thirty-one pages to *qaṣīdās* composed in the period of Sulṭān Naṣīr-uddīn while assigning only four pages to cover the reign of this *sulṭān*. While the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the crown-price of Balban, gives him an occasion to insert long elegies in his chronicle, he skips over political ideas and policies, as enunciated in the advice given by Balban to his son, by refering to the old histories of Dehli wherein they may be had. He lacked

5. *Badāyūnī*, *M. T.*, *Vol. II*, p. 6, ff; Luniya, *Some Histoirans of Medieval India*, p. 167, writes that though Badāyūnī says that he based his *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* on *Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Śāhī*, there is original matter in his book which is not available in any other contemporary work.

in his sense of proportion, when he could give more space to Kaiqūbād, a much smaller personality, than to Balban, a Key-Sovereign of the slave dynasty. He continued to hold even his values and sense of history as portrayed above, even when he was chronicling events of his own days. Even the momentous administrative decisions, taken by Akbar, could be glossed over by him in a brief and casual reference. "And in this year His Majesty ordered the institution of branding and muster under the guidance of Śahbāz Khan Kamboh, the appointment of *Karorīs* in all the territory under control and the reversion at one stroke of all land to *Khālsa*".[6]

A close scrutiny of the "something more of his own" which Badāyūnī has added to in his Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, while buttressing the accounts taken from *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Śāhī* and Niẓāmuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, reveals forth his frequent and continuous references to sūfīs and poets. The references are not historically cogent except perhaps in determining dates, for there is scarcely any date about the death of a man which has not been expressed in chronogram. Badāyānī had an insatiable passion to record anecdotes. But while doing so, he never developed the absurd height of the flight of imagination as found in the story-letter, for he always treated the story-telling with an instinctive dislike, as if it was an act of frivolity. He had no taste to believe in supernatural phenomenon. In his anecdotes, he talks about natural calamities and misfortunes that came in the wake of the killing of Sidi Maulā by Fīrūz Śāh

6. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, p. 173.

Khaljī, but here one finds him quite restrained in proper proportions as against Zīāuddīn Barnī, for his statement on the drought ascribes it more rationally to natural causes. Hence his anecdotes, instead of creating diversion in narration, adds to its quality. One such anecdote of his relates to the story of the slave-girl of Iltutmaś who ultimately proved to be his sister. Another anecdote of his recounts the romance of Sayyad Musā and Mohinī, the daughter of a goldsmith, an event that came to pass in his days. Badāyūnī at times makes pause in his narrative to make a diversion in the direction of recounting a story at length and here he appears to bid adieu to evaluate persons and their activities through the spectacle of the *śarīàt* and settles down to a level where he identifies himself in entirety with the persons whose doom he narrates. Such anecdotes of Badāyūnī are the best specimens of a masterpiece and superb literature.

But the most astriking of Badāyūnī is his remarks of sarcasm and satire. What a befitting summing up of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq finds expression in the works of Badāyūnī :—"The *Sulṭān* was relieved of the people and the people were relieved of the *Sultān*".[7]

Such iustances of Badāyūnī's biting sarcasm may be multiphed :—"And in this year the scholars of the Age, Mīr Murtaẓa Śarīfī Śīrāẓī, departed from this inn of unreality. First, he was buried at Dehli, in the neighbourhood of the grave of Amīr Khusrau (May God have mercy on him). Then, because the *ṣadr* and the *qāẓī* and the *śaikh-ul-Islām* represented (to His Majesty)

7. Ibid, p. 238.

that Amīr Khusrau was an Indian and a *Sunnī* and Mīr Murtaza an *Irāqī* and a *rāfizī*, there was no doubt that Amīr Khusrau would find his company a torture..... His Majesty commanded that his body should be removed and buried elsewhere."[8]

"And in this year Śaikh Ibrāhīm Cīśtī died a natural death at Fathpur. He bid farewell to mountains of gold and rendered his account to the Creater of life. Out of his wealth twentyfive crores in cash, in addition to elephants, horses and other goods, were taken into the treasury; the rest fell to the share of his enemies—his sons and representatives."[9]

"Makhdūm-ul-Mulk died at Aḥmadabad in the year A. H. 990. Qāẓī Álī was sent from Fathpur to Lahore to make an inventory of his property. He uncovered so much wealth and buried treasure that one could not open its lock with the key of imagination. A part of the treasure found in the family grave-yard of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk were boxes filled with gold bricks, which had been buried under the pretence that they were corpses. What was apparent to the eyes of men was so much that only God, the creator, could make a reckoning. All those bricks, alongwith the books, which counted for no more than mere bricks, were confiscated to the Treasury."[10]

Some of Badāyūnī's chronograms are not only biting in sarcasm but are utterly disrespectable and

8. Ibid, p. 99.
9. Ibid, p. 374.
10. Ibid, p. 311.

indiscreet, viz, "the miserly Śaikh"[11] for Śaikh Ibrāhīm Cī'stī and "Carcase of swine"[12] for Śaikh Gadāī.

As stated before, Badāyūnī, failing to receive his due in his opinion, from emperor Akar, wrote *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* in a spirit of frustration, castigating against the emperor and his two close counsellors viz, Faizi and Abul Faźl in particular, and enjoyed the troubles that visited the sovereign.[13] He ascribed to the divine wrath for the political troubles of Akbar, viz, the rebellions of the Afghāns in Bengal and Bihar, Mirzā Ḥākim's rebellion and accounted for the visitation of this wrath of God on the emperor at the latters' administrative policy which was directed against curbing the *ṣadars'* power in granting lands. "The king disturbed our *madad-i-màāś* land and God has now disturbed his country."[14] His book acts as a brake against the over-laudatory panegyric of Abul Fazl. Though *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh* possessed a value of its own, it contained so much of bitter and at time even unsavoury criticism of Akbar that the author kept it concealed in the life-time of his great Mughal emperor. It gave an index, or a window, so to say, to read the state of the mind of the

11. Ibid, p. 374.
12. Ipid., p. 119.
13. J. N. Sarkar, Personal History of Some Mekieval Historians, published in *Historians of Medieval India*, edited by Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 188-9.
14. J. N. Sarkar in his article "Personal History of Som-Medieval Hostorians and their Writings" refers here to Badāyūnī for this statement. cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 188.

orthodox *Sunnī* Muslims in the days of Akbar. In the estimate of Prof. S. R. Sharma, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* does not possess much value except for those account of events in which Badāyūnī himself had participated.[15] Moreland has held *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* as reminiscences of journalism rather than history [16] Topics were sorted out not out of regards for their intrinsic values but out of sheer fads and fancies of the author who couched them in a saracastic apparel for presentation to the readers, bearing an impress of his personal predilections and prejudices and it is here that the readers have to be on the guard. He uses uncanny words and gets rivetted into polemics of religions, their invectives and eulogisms. biographical details of personal and family history, transporting the readers into a dream-land, which only wrecks the even continuity of narrations. Even then these digressions have got a silver lining of their own. His through awareness of the contemporary chronicles often led him to presuppose, without any justification, that his readers were fully and equally aware of the same, and thus he often indicated them obscurely or besmirched many facts.

Nevertheless there can be no denying the fact that Badāyūnī did possess an original bent of mind, as is evident from his narratives on Islām Śāh's administration which exhales a secular spirit, His object in undertaking the writing of *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* was to state facts correctly. He wrote in the preface to the book : "Since the object of my ambition is to write

15. Sharma, *Mughal Bibliography of India*, pp. 38-9.
16. Moreland, *Agrarian system of Muslim India*, p. 100.

corectly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instruments of my thoughts or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agents of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He, in accordence with His universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it,"[17]

What was Badāyūnī's concept of History which he kept in view while writing Mantakhabu-T-Tawārīkh. According to Badāyūnī[18] "the science of history is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountainhead of the learning of the experienced and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, short-sighted as they are, have held—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad·····I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and and manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of

17. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu T-Tawārīkh*, trans, p. 11, vol. I
18. C. H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan, Ceylon*, p. 148, 1962 Reprint, London,

this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith in the worldy profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious truth until they have appeared to be laudable.....I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islam, which, *Ānqa*-like turning its face to the *Qāf* of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a non-entity, and still is so."

Badāyūnī s higher code of ethics and morality to hold fast to truth in chronicling the events, so nicely enunciated before, is presaged by his eclesiastical norm to cling fast to śarīàt as the guideline in his chronicling of history; and this has eroded much of his crusading spirit for conserving the truth. Badāyūnī[19] wrote at one place : "I am not concerned with those who are not bound by śarīàt, and who disown it in principle and in detail.....for such persons do not deserve to be addressed in this way. They are not fit to be included of affairs.... we must realize that the reading and study of this branch of knowledge, i. e. history, has been a cause of

19. *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, 1865 edn., Vol. I, pp. 3-4 cf. Mujeeb, Supra, p. 106, f. n. i.

deviation from the straight path of the illustrious *śarīàt* of Muḥammad.....for those of weak faith, who are filled with suspicion and doubt, It has landed them in different positions and in the turbid ways of caprice and innovation, and has, therefore, become a source of disappointment. Such people as are by nature not disposed towards faith, become hardened and suffer abiding loss (even) when they read the Eternal word.....how could they attain to a true knowledge of history."

But history, to Badāyūnī,[20] proved too important to be ignored. "How can one deny absolutely the value of a branch of knowledge, which is one-seventh of the seven sections and is the foundation for the strenghening of faith and certainty.....History is in itself a noble branch of kdowledge and a refined art, as it is a means of warning to those who are aware and a source of experience for those who have intelligence and insight." And after all, everybody is not disposed to err. Hence Badāyūnī[21] wrote : "I address myself to those people who have a healthy nature, a keen mind and their habit of judging justly." He, therefor, proceeded to write what he felt about and as he wanted.

Though Badāyūnī[22] vouschafed for the authenticity of truth behind his chronicling in *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, this is not borne out from the contradictions found in his writing. Had he recorded all the religious ordinances of Akbar in a proper graded table in point of

20. *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, 1865 end., 1, pp. 2-3; cf. Mujeeb, Supra, p. 106, fn. 4.
21. Ibid, M. T.; Mujeeb, Supra, f. n. 5.
22. Luniya, Supra, p. 168.

time, he could have rendered yeoman's service to the world of Indian History, as it would have given a cogent account of Akbar's religious views and policies with a flood of light on the subject. This would have greatly enhanced the quality of his Muntakhab. But he had his mission to narrate the decline of Islam, keeping Akbar and his adviser's views for the foisting of its responsibility. He, therefore, gave only one side of the picture from the point of views of bigotted *sunnīs*. This is a great short-coming from which his *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* suffers and the scholars must be on their guard against this pitfall while perusing it.

Badāyūnī's *Muntakhaba-T-Tawārīkh* has got its own silver linnings as well to redeem its said short-comings. It provides us with interesting information on many subjects of his period, not to be found elsewhere in other Persian chronicles, and they agree generally with the testimony of the contemporary Jesuit accounts.

It is beyond any shadow of doubt that Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* is highly subjective. It is more of the type of memoirs rather than histories and recalls to memory the Memoirs of St. Simon. The value of Badāyūnī's work. however, exactly lies in this. He does not wear a false mask, and writes what he feels about. It is not too much to say that he has no affiliations for a class or interest and has nothing of certain fixed concepts of history to make him different. If we take it that by *śarīàt* he means only an attitude of reverence for God, the prophet, the revelation, one is naturally led to hold that he could not but have given to others,

as he did to himself, a wide latitude for differennce of opinion and for leading a life as one wished. One may still even then at times feel irritated with Badāyūnī, but one must have the saving grace to realise that here is a person who enjoys looking at life from multi-cornered angles, one who writes with honest conviction and writes well with vigour, one who has not gone a hunting to discover obscure facts or such others that have escaped but one who has attempted to give us something lively, vibrating and pulsating, revealing him and his times.

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!"

CHAPTER I.

I will state at the outset[1] that as the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī*[2] has given an account of the nobles of the realm immediately after his history of the empire, and as most of them are now dead, and gone to perdition,[3]

[In no one have I seen fidelity,
If thou hast found one who possesses it convey to him my blessing.]

I will refrain from polluting the nib of my pen with a description of such worthless wretches, and will commence with the enumeration of some of the holy men of the age, for an account of noble men who have chosen the way of God is in every way to be preferred to an account of scoundrels and debauchees. And so will I not be a mark for threats and comminations.[4] ("Throw dust on the faces of those who praise without stint," and again, "may God protect us from the wickedness of tyrants."[5]) An account of the base acts of the followers (of the Divine Faith),[6]

[1] مخفی نماند literally, "let it not be concealed," a common form of commencing a history.

[2] Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn Aḥmad, vide *Āin-i-Akbarī passim*. His history is generally known as the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[3] Such expressions as this explain Badāonī's reason for keeping this history secret. The literal translation is "and have not been pardoned."

[4] *I.e.*, "were I to mention these men at all I could only mention them in such a manner as would lead to my being persecuted, for I will not give praise where it is not due. I will therefore keep silence regarding them."

[5] Two pious ejaculations in Arabic, the former, which is one of the احادیث, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad, denouncing flatterers, while the latter prays for protection from tyrants.

[6] These are evidently the persons intended by the word طایفه. Badāonī as a good Muslim was much scandalized by the strange freaks of the followers of this new religion of Akbar's.

with whose unclean existence the age is polluted may be thus described :—

Their letters do not spell sense,[1]
Nor do their thoughts tend in the direction of sense;
Think meanly of the base, and of those whose faith is weak,
Form the same estimate of the latter as of the former.
When one can call to mind one's friends,
And so make the heart a garden of sweet memories,
Pity were it to mention one's enemies
For that were to quit the sweet garden for the midden.[2]

The holy men by whose noble existence the reign of Akbar
2. Shāh was adorned have now, for the most part, withdrawn, as the *'anqā*[3] retires to the mountains of Qāf, to the neighbourhood of the Great God. It is as though they had all conspired together to roll up and remove the baggage of life from this dwelling of care and deceit and to take up their abode in the home of joy and bliss. And now of that caravan not one remains to encourage stragglers.

"The mansions are deserted, temporary and permanent dwelling alike,
"Nothing remains but owls and rubbish."[4]

I shall begin with that class of men who were regularly employed in the Imperial service until[5] their fame reached such a pitch that it was as manifest as the sun at midday.

[1] The reference to the idiomatic use of the word حرف (*ḥarf*) "a letter of the alphabet" as in the phrase حرف زدن, "to talk," is hard to reproduce in a translation. The meaning of the line is:—"The letters (or sounds) of which their talk is composed do not spell (or make) sense."

[2] كلخن *lit.*, 'dustbin,' otherwise 'the furnace used for heating a bath.' The unsavouriness of the latter would be due to the nature of the fuel used.

[3] A fabulous bird, described as being "known as to name, but unknown as to body." Its abode is in Qāf, a mountain encircling the world, which may be described in much the same terms as is the bird. In practical, as opposed to mythical geography, the name is given to the Caucasus.

[4] This Arabic couplet is clearly a parody on the opening couplet of the fourth *qaṣīdah* of the سبع معلقات. In the second hemistich the word هم appears in the text, and also in MSS. (A) and (B). This does not make sense. I prefer to read لم.

[5] يا in the text, despite the clear meaning of the passage and the authority of both MSS.

I. Miyāṅ Ḥātim of Sambhal.[1]

(*May God sanctify his tomb.*)

Miyāṅ Ḥātim[2] was a profound sage who passed very many years in teaching. He was endowed with both inward and outward perfection. While he was engaged in acquiring knowledge he was overcome by religious ecstasy,[3] and, forsaking scholastic disputations, attached himself as a disciple to his teacher, Shaikh Azizu-'llāh, a learned man of Ṭalamba,[4] who was of those who are truly wise in the way of God, and was one of the most highly regarded of the holy men of his time. He also spent some time in the service of Shaikh 'Alāu-'d-Din Cishtī[5] of Dihlī, (may God sanctify his soul!) following his rule, and obtained from both of these holy men permission to perfect their students and disciples. At the time when he was first drawn towards God he wandered about for ten years, bareheaded and barefooted, in the waste country round about Sambhal and Amroha,[6] and during all this time his head touched not bed or bolster. He was a man who took keen pleasure in contemplating God and whom the singing of God's praises threw into an ecstasy of delight, and ever, as he spoke and smiled, the name of God was on his tongue. In his last years the intoxication of joy which he experienced in his love for God so overpowered him that to, listen but for a short space to the chanting of God's praises

[1] Sambhal was then the principal town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Dihlī. It is now a Taḥṣīl town and Municipality in the Muradābād District. N.-W. P.

[2] *Vide* Vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428.

[3] *I.e.*, the ecstasy of the *Ṣūfīs*, or mystics of Islām, which will be described hereafter.

[4] Now a municipal town in the Sarai Sidhū *Taḥṣīl* of the Multān District, Panjāb. (Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India," xiii., 163.) *Vide* Badāoni I. (trans. Ranking), p. 389 *n* 2.

[5] A family and order of ascetics. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III. trans. Jarrett, pp. 354, 357, 361, 369, 370, 422. Also *Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī*, 'Aligarh edition (1864), p. 1, and preface, pp. 3, 4. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 309, *Qānūn-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharif and Dr. Herklots) ed., 1832, p. 289, and *Akbarnāma* text, p. 151.

[6] A town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal, *Ṣūba* of Dihlī. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. (trans. Jarrett), p. 289.

placed him beside himself. He had not the strength to listen to hymns.

When I, in the year 960 A.H. (A.D. 1553), being then in my twelfth year, arrived in company with my father at Sambhal,
3. and there entered the service of the Shaikh, I learnt by heart, in his hospice, the *Qaṣīda-yi-burda*,[1] and thus gained admission (to the ranks of his disciples), and there I also read, to my great spiritual advantage and profit, part of the book *Kanz-i-fiqh-i-Ḥanafī*.[2] The Shaikh then enrolling me among his direct disciples said to my father, "I have bestowed upon your son the cap and the tree[3] which descend from my spiritual teacher Miyan Shaikh 'Azīzu-'llāh for this reason, that he may acquire also some exoteric knowledge" (*i.e.*, beyond the esoteric knowledge which he was to acquire). And for this praise be to God. In the year 969 A.H. (A.D. 1561-2) the holy Shaikh went into God's Presence, and the words "the wise *darvīsh*"[4] give the date of his death. May God make his dust fragrant! And it so happened that my father too received the summons of God's mercy in the same year. One might say that the position in

[1] There are two *Qaṣidahs* which go by this name. The former, the original *Qaṣidatu-'l-burdah*, was written by Ka'bu-'bnu-Zuhair, in praise of Muḥammad, during the latter's lifetime. Muḥammad bestowed upon the poet as a reward his own *burdah* or cloak of striped cloth of Yaman. Hence the name given to the poem. The latter was written by Shaikh Sharafu-'d-Dīn Abū 'Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Sa'īd Būṣīrī, who died in 694 A.H. (1294 A.D.), and was at first named *Al Kawākibu-'d-darrīyah* or "glittering stars." various reasons are given for the bestowal on it of the name *Qaṣidatu-'l-burdah*. This latter poem was also written in praise of Muḥammad. (Vide *Ḥāji Khalfā* Fluegel, 1845, Vol. IV., 523–533.) The latter poem is the better known of the two, and it was probably this that Badāonī learnt.

[2] This book was probably the *Kanzu-'d-daqā, iq fī furū'i-'l-Ḥanafiyyah* by Shaikh Al Imām Abu-'l-Barakāt 'Abdu-'llāhi bni-Aḥmad, known as Ḥafizu-'d-dini-'n-Nasafi *vide Ḥaji Khalfā*, Vol. V. (ed. 1850), pp. 249–253. The author died in 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.).

[3] شجرہ (*Shajara*) or شجرہ نامہ (*Shajar-nāma*) a list of saints, or holy predecessors, which is drawn up in the form of a genealogical tree, and should go back to the time of Muḥammad. It is delivered into the hands of a student when he is made either a *murīd* (disciple) or *Khalīfah* (deputy) as evidence of his spiritual descent. Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* by Ja'far Sharaf and Dr. Herklots (1832), pp. 283, 300.

[4] درویش دانشمند (*darvīsh-i-dānishmand*) giving the figures
4 + 200 + 6 + 10 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 4 = 969.

which he stood to the Shaikh as his disciple made it necessary that he should so follow him.

II. Shaikh Jalālu'-d-Din of Thānesar.

He was the *Khalīfah*[1] or deputy of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangoh[2] (may God sanctify their tombs!) His attainments, both in exoteric and in esoteric learning, were great, and he employed himself in imparting instruction in divinity and in the spreading abroad of those branches of knowledge which are, as the subject of divine revelation, certainly proved. In his last years he abandoned the pursuit of secular knowledge and, choosing privacy rather than publicity, spent his valuable time in reading through the blessed *Qur'ān*, in performing works of supererogation, and in praise and prayer. When he was ninety-three years of age he was exceedingly weak and feeble, so that there seemed to be nothing remaining of him but skin and bone.

Couplet.

When the veins of an aged man, in consequence of his abandonment of worldly desires, stand out on his skin.
Then it is that he becomes, as it were, a ruler to guide disciples in the way of righteousness.[3]

And although he had not so much strength left as enabled him to sit down and rise up[4] and to move about, and used, in 4.
consequence of his feebleness and weakness, to lie all day long in a reclining position, yet no sooner did he hear the call to prayer than he would, without the assistance of anybody, rise

[1] *Vide* supra, note 1.

[2] Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), pp. 538, 546, and Vol. III. (trans. Jarrett), p. 374. 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs asserted that he was descended from Abū Ḥanifah. He died in A.H. 959 (A.D. 1543) and was buried at Gangoh, where he had lived. Gangoh is a town now in the Sahāranpūr Dist. N.-W. P.

[3] The translation may not perhaps render the meaning of this couplet clear, owing to a confusion of terms. The word مسطر (*mistar*) means "a ruler," the instrument for ruling lines. In the original Persian a comparison is drawn between the prominent veins of an emaciated old man, grown old in the way of holiness, and the ruler which directs the pen, or rather the hand of him who holds the pen, in a straight line.

[4] The text omits the words برخاستن (*bar khāstan*) "to rise up," as does also MS. (B). In inserting them I follow MS. (A).

up, put on his shoes, take his staff in his hand, perform his ceremonial ablutions by himself and without any help, and stand up for his prayers.[1] This done he would again recline in his wonted position on his couch. I twice had the honour of attending on him, once in the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-2), in Āgra, when he had come there to settle the matter of his *aima*[2] holding in Thānesar[3] and to have the subject represented, and again in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4) when I was accompanying *Ḥusain Khān* in his pursuit of Ulugh Mirzā.[4] He seemed to me to be a quantity of (divine) light in bodily form. He bade farewell to this transitory world in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), May God remember him to his good!

III. Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwāliyār.[5]

He was the disciple of Shaikh Ẓuhūr and Ḥājī Ḥuzūr, other-

[1] The miraculous part of this fact is that the ceremonial prayers of Muslims contain various genuflexions and prostrations, in addition to the standing position. The ceremonial prayers are recited five times every day. This was no mean performance for an old man of 93 who had no strength to rise or stand on ordinary occasions. If what Badaoni says is true the probability is that Shaikh Jalālu-'d-Dīn, finding that the regular ceremonial prayers so exhausted him that he could not undergo any exertion in addition to them, kept his bed except at prayer times, reserving all his strength for his religious exercises.

[2] Lands held on *aima* tenure were rent-free grants given as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or subsistence allowance, to deserving individuals. For an account of the troubles that used to befall persons who came to Court on business connected with *aima* holdings *vide* Badāonī, Vol. II. text pp. 204-5, trans. pp. 207-8.

[3] A *mahall* in the *sarkār* of Sarhind, *Ṣubah* of Dihlī and a place of pilgrimage among the Hindus (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans.), Vol. II. 281). It is now a small town in the Ambala district, Panjāb.

[4] This happened before Badāonī left the service of Husain Khān for that of the Emperor. Husain Khan, nicknamed *Tukriya*, or "the patcher," from his having ordered Hindus, as unbelievers, to wear a patch on their garments near the shoulders, was "the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" (Blochmann). For accounts of him vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 372. He was Badāonī's first patron. Ulugh Mirza (whose name had been changed from Sikandar to Ulugh by the Emperor Humāyūn) was the elder son of Ulugh Mirzā, the eldest son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā of the House of Timur. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā was the great-great-grandson of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, the second son of Timur. He was thus a distant cousin of Akbar.

[5] Gwalior, the famous fortress.

wise known as Ḥājī Ḥamīd, and his spiritual descent could be traced back, through the line of the *Shaṭṭārī* order of ascetics to Shaikh Bāyazīd of Busṭām,[1] the prince of knowers of God. (May God sanctify his soul!) When entering on the religious life he spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Canār[2] and the adjoining country, practising the most severe austerities, having his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. He was an acknowledged master in the science of exorcism,[3] he possessed supernatural power, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God.[4] He obtained leave to practise this science (*scil.* exorcism) from his elder brother, Shaikh Buhlūl,[5] who was a worker of miracles and wonders.

[1] Shaikh Bāyazīd of Busṭām (a small town in the hills of Ṭabaristān, between the ancient city of Rai and Nīshāpūr) was originally named Ṭaifūr, and founded the *Ṭaifūriyah* order of ascetics. He is said to have been born in A.H. 136 (A.D. 753-4) and to have died at Busṭām, the date of his death being variously given as A.H. 231, 234, 261, 262 and 269. One of his "spiritual descendants" was Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh-i-Shaṭṭārī, who founded the *Shaṭṭārī* order. He came from Persia to India and died in Malwā, where he is buried, in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406). Jahangīr erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Māndū. The word شطاری (*Shaṭṭārī*) is derived from the Arabic root شطر (*Shaṭara*) meaning "he travelled in the direction of." Its meaning as applied to 'Abdu-'llāh and his followers is "one who outstrips and is quick in attaining nearness to God." In the language of the order علم شطاریہ (*'ilm-i-Shaṭārah*) means "the working and aspirations of the soul." From the facts of Badāoni applying the title *Sulṭān* to Shaikh Bāyazīd, and of Shaikh Muḥammad's penance of *twelve* years it is pretty clear that their conceptions of Bāyazīd were coloured by the ridiculous Indian legends concerning him,—unsavoury stories shewing a strong bias towards Hindu superstitions, and coined by wandering *faqīrs* in order to invest with a spurious sanctity a cenotaph which they had erected in Bāyazīd's name at Cātgāñv (Chittagong).

[2] The famous fort on the Ganges, nineteen miles above Banāras.

[3] دعوت اسما Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* (Ja'far Sharīf and Dr. Herklots, 1832) c. XXIX. Shaikh Muḥammad wrote a book under the title of الجواہر الخمس (*Aljawāhiru-'l-Khams*) "the five jewels." It is divided into five parts:—(1) on the worship of God, (2) on the ascetic life, (3) on exorcism, (4) on the recital of God's praises, (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge.

[4] جذب *Vide* art. الجذبة in Sprenger's edition of the *Iṣṭilāḥata-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*.

[5] MSS. (A) and (B) have a word which looks like پھول (*phūl*) but بہلول (*Buhlūl*) is undoubtedly the correct reading.

His late Majesty, the Emperor Humāyūn, on whom God's mercy has descended, had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in his estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism. After the rebellion in India, when Shīr
5. Shāh began to oppress Shaikh Muḥammad, he betook himself to Gujarāt where also he brought princes and rulers under the yoke of subjection to him and [1] belief in his teaching, so that all alike were ready to do him service. Shaikh Wajihu-'d-Dīn too, a knower and a [2] doer of the things that belong to God, a profound thinker and a teacher, drew upon his shoulders the saddle-cloth of obedience to Shaikh Muḥammad. All these things are an indication of the Shaikh's perfections and of his power of working miracles. Many other great and famous holy men in Dihlī, Gujarāt, and Bangāl have risen from the fringe of his robe,[3] and memorials of his perfection still remain in Hindūstān. One day in the year H. 966 (A.D. 1558-9) I saw him from afar off, riding along in the market place at Āgra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that no one could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow. It was in this year that he came from Gujarāt to Āgra, and with much exhortation and persuasion, availing himself of the influence of those about the Court, enrolled the Emperor Akbar, then a youth, among his disciples, but the Emperor soon rejected his teaching, and since Shaikh Muḥammad's companionship was distasteful to the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān,[4] and to Shaikh Gadāī,[5] he withdrew, ill pleased,

[1] The text omits the words و اعتقاد after ونقیاد, although they appear in both MSS.

[2] The text omits the word عامل after عالم, although it appears in both MSS. Shaikh Wajihu-'d-Dīn is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *vide* also *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) *passim* and *Akbarnāma* (text), III. 63–744.

[3] *i.e.*, have "sat at his feet."

[4] The famous Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānan, also entitled Khān Bābā. He was Akbar's *atālīq* or tutor. He was assassinated by an Afghān named Mubārak on the 14th Jamādī I. A H. 968 (A.D. 1561).

[5] Shaikh Gadāī was a Shi'ah who had been appointed *Ṣadru-'ṣ-Ṣudūr* on the recommendation of Bairam Khān, whom he had joined in Gujarāt. He

to Gwaliyar, where he spent his time in perfecting his disciples, and, having built an hospice, occupied himself with the ecstatic dances of *darvīshes*,[1] chanting, and giving way to transports of religious ecstasy.[2] He himself also wrote books on these subjects. Clad in the garments of poverty he held a high and majestic position, and possessed a subsistence allowance of a *karor* of *tankas*.[3] Whomsoever he saw, were he a beggar even, he treated with great honour, standing before him. For this reason some few from among those who were vowed to poverty blamed him, and denied (that he was a true ascetic).[4] But God alone knows what his motives were in this matter.

Couplet.

Since God in His omniscience alone knows whether a soul is to be rejected or accepted,
"Judge not lest thou be judged."[5]

6

In the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3), after completing his eightieth

was *Ṣadr* till A.H. 968. *Vide* Badāonī, Vol. II, text, pp. 29, 30, trans., pp. 22, 23, 24. For the disappointment of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus at Court *vide* Badāonī, Vol. II, text, pp. 34, 35, trans., pp. 28, 29.

[1] سماع (*samā'*). [2] وجد (*vajd*).

[3] The *tanka* was worth about 4*d*. Badaoni's statement means that Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus had a yearly allowance of £166.666. 13*s*. 4*d*., or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant, either in land or money. Badāonī probably uses the word کرور indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the *tanka* referred to was the *tanka-yi-siyāh*, a copper coin, worth only $\frac{6}{64}$ of the silver *tanka*, (*vide* Badaoni, Vol. I, trans. Ranking, p. 87, *n*. 1.) This would bring Shaikh Muhammad's annual allowance to £15,625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum.

[4] The objection of other "holy men" to the manners of Muhammad Ghaus will be understood by those who have any experience of the manners, or rather lack of them, displayed by most "holy men" in India. Affecting complete indifference to all worldly matters, they too frequently attempt to establish a claim to superior sanctity by means of a demeanour of insulting indifference towards all with whom they are brought in contact. Numerous instances of this occur in history, the eccentricities of "holy men" being generally tolerated, just as the quips of professional jesters were formerly tolerated in Europe.

[5] Literally "Beware of bringing forward the faults of others, for to do so is a fault in thee."

year, he died in Āgra, leaving this world for the next, and was buried in Gwāliyār. He was generous to a degree, and it is said that the word "I" never passed his lips, and that he always referred to himself as "this humble one." So particular was he in this matter that even when giving away corn in charity he would say "*Mīm* and *Nūn*,[1] give this much corn to such an one," in order to avoid the necessity of saying "I." May God shower his mercy plenteously upon him!

IV. Shaikh Burhān.

Burhān was an ascetic of great resignation and piety, and a very prince among those who have chosen a life of religious seclusion and retirement, and of independence of worldly concerns. It is said that he was once for three days in company with Miyān Ilāhdād of Bārī,[2] of the spiritual line of the famous Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur,[3] (may God sanctify his soul), there being only one intermediary between them, and that it was on that occasion that he acquired this excellence, and attained to perfection. He had subjected himself to severe discipline and possessed great self-control. For nearly fifty years (before his death) he had abstained from flesh-meat and from most other articles of food and drink, contenting himself with a little milk and some sweet-meats; and at the end of his life he abstained also from drinking water, so that to outward appearance he was an incorporeal spiritual form, supernaturally illuminated. He had in Kālpi a very small and dark cell in which he constantly

[1] *i.e.* م and ن, the letters of which the word من is composed. This practice may appear to be an absurd affectation of humility, but it must be remembered that too free a use of the first person, whether in writing or in conversation is, even at the present day, and among men who lay no special claim to sanctity, considered a breach of etiquette among Orientals.

[2] There are three places of this name given by Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. One is a town in *Taḥṣīl* Sidhauli, Dist. Sitāpūr, Oudh; another is a village in the Garḥwāl State, N.-W. P.; and the third is a town in the Dholpur State, Rājputāna. I cannot identify the Miyān's abode. Bārī was also the name given by Akbar to the Duāb between the Biyāh and the Rāvī. Four worthies of the name of Ilāhdād are commemorated in this Vol., *viz.*: Nos. XIII, XXXV, LXIII and LXX, ch. ii.

[3] At one time the capital of a Muhammadan kingdom. Now the chief town of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the *Mahdavī* will be subsequently referred to.

sat, engaged in reciting God's praises and in meditation and contemplation. He used also to retain his breath,[1] after the fashion of the *Mahdavīs*, and although he had never studied any of the sciences treated of in Arabic literature he used to give most eloquent dissertations on the *Qur'ān*. He was a reader of the secrets of human hearts. When I was returning from Canār (Chunār) in A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559–60) during the rule of 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Ūzbak[2] I spent a night in attendance on the *Shaikh*, whose conversation was sublime. He recited, appositely 7. to the occasion, some of his own Hindī poetry of which the subjects were exhortation, admonition, mysticism,[3] the longing of the human soul for God,[4] the Unity of God, and withdrawal from the world. The next day Mihr 'Alī Sildūz,[5] who, in spite of his friendship towards holy men, was to some extent a slave to his own Turkish nature, and was something of a bully and a tyrant,

> [I have been the slave of that man of perfect nature, from the day on which he said,
> "The Turk, though he become a *mullā*, can never become a man."]

was honoured, by means of an introduction from me, with an interview with the *Shaikh*. Now it so happened that about an

[1] پاس انفاس (*pās-i-anfās*) lit. "guarding, or holding, the inspirations and respirations." *Hindustānī* دم بڑھانا (*dam baṛhānā*) and دم سادھنا (*dam sādhnā*). A practice borrowed from Hindu ascetics.

[2] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, (trans. Blochmann), pp. 320-1. He was a noble of Humāyūn's Court. Having been by Akbar appointed to the government of Mālwa, he re-conquered that province and reigned in Mandū like a king, whence the expression in the text. Akbar moved against him and he fled. After many wanderings and vicissitudes he made his way to Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān-i-Zamān (A.H. 974 = A.D. 1567).

[3] تصوف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the Ṣūfīs.

[4] ذوق (*zauq*). Vide *Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Dr. Sprenger, 1845), p. 162.

[5] In the previous year (A.H. 966 = A.D. 1558-9) Mihr 'Alī Khān Sildūz had been sent to Canār to treat with Jamāl Khān, the Afghān commandant, who wished to hand over the fort to the Mughals for a consideration. Jamāl Khān, however, did not deem Akbar's offer of five *paryanas* near Jaunpūr sufficient and the negotiations fell through, whereupon Mihr 'Alī returned to Āgra with Badāoni who had accompanied him to Canār. Mihr 'Alī who

hour before this time he had severely beaten and kicked some of his servants and attendants, and had abused them in most unbecoming language before mounting his horse to go for a ride. When we sat down together the first words the *Shaikh* uttered were, "The prophet (may God bless and save him!) said, 'The (true) Muslim is he who (courteously) salutes (other) Muslims both with his hand and with his tongue.'" The *Shaikh* uttered this precious aphorism and sublime truth with special reference to the occasion, and Mihr 'Ali rose to his feet for the purpose of excusing himself, and, after expressing his contrition and shame he begged the *Shaikh* to recite the *fātiḥah*[1] on his behalf, offering to him, at the same time, something by way of a present, which was not accepted.

The *Shaikh* reached the age of nearly one hundred years and departed this life in the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562–3). I have made the following chronogram on his death :—

My heart said he was the chief of Saints.[2]

In accordance with the terms of his will he was buried in the cell to which he had retired—may God shed light upon his resting-place!

V. Shaikh Muḥammad-i-Kambū,[3] of Sambhal.

He belonged to the *Qādiri*[4] order. On first entering the reli-
8. gious life he subjected himself to a most rigorous discipline. He was a man who was mysteriously drawn towards God[5] and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice and when he was in one of his fits of ecstasy he would chant so

was at this time a *Beg* was afterwards created *Khān* and Governor of Citor (Chitor). For an account of Mihr 'Ali's mission *vide* Badāoni, Vol. II., text, pp. 32–34; trans., pp. 26–28. Mihr 'Ali had evidently a great regard for Badāoni. *Sildūz* is the name of a Caghatai clan.

[1] The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*. Its recital, in combination with a gift made to a holy man, forms an offering to God.

[2] شیخ اولیا بود giving 300+10+600+1+6+30+10+1+2+6+4=970.

[3] The name of a tribe to which the famous Shahbāz Khan, Commander of two thousand in Akbar's reign, belonged. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (trans. Blochmann), pp. 399–402.

[4] A religious order founded by Shaikh Muhiyyu-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jīli, a Sayyid of the race of Husain. Jīl is a village near Baghdad. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, text II., 212.

[5] ذوق (*ẕauq*) vide *Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Sprenger) *sub voc.*.

sweetly as to touch the hearts of all who heard him; the flavour of that ecstatic song still lingers on the palate of my soul. In his earlier years he acquired exoteric knowledge and was engaged in teaching. He had an ardent love for such forms as display, in their beauty, the power of the Creator, nor was he ever at any time free from the bonds of that love which is transferred from the Creator to the creature,[1] and when in these bonds he lost all self-control, and, putting aside all dissimulation and restraint took no account of the praise or blame of others, careless alike of their disapprobation and their approval. For this reason was he known as Shaikh Muḥammad-i-'Āshiq, or "the lover." In A.H. 985 (A.D. 1579) he transferred the baggage of his existence to that land where the soul is united to God.[2] The words "the sixth of Shavvāl"[3] give the date of his death. May God make his soul fragrant!

VI. Shaikh Fakhru-'d-Din.

He was an old man in whom shone the Divine Light, ascetic in his habits, having complete trust in God, and uncontrollable religious enthusiasm. He lived a retired and solitary life, keeping the door of ingress and egress shut to himself. Every Friday

[1] عشق مجازي (*'ishq-i-majazi*). This *Ṣufi*-istic expression requires some explanation. مجازي is an adjective formed from the Arabic word مجاز which means literally "a thing transferred from one place to another," and hence "a metaphor," or "trope." It was a belief among the *Ṣūfis* that the love of a creature for the Creator, a love which they named عشق (*'ishq*), might be manifested in that creature's love for other creatures. The word عشق means "sexual love," and was no doubt originally used by pious *Sufis* to denote the love of a creature for the Creator in consequence of the ecstatic nature of that love. Setting aside the profanity of placing love for God, and a passion (not necessarily love) for a creature on the same, or nearly the same footing, it may easily be conceived that the idea that the latter differed but slightly in merit from the former furnished an excuse for the vilest sensuality, the nature of which need not be touched upon here.

[2] The expression used here (دارالوصال—*dāru-'l-wiṣāl*) is a further reference to the *Ṣūfi*-istic notion described in note 1. The mention of 'blame' and 'disapprobation' is sufficient to indicate the nature of Muḥammad Kambū's "love" for the creature.

[3] ششم از شوال (*shishum az Shavvāl*), giving 300+300+40+1+7+300+6+1+30=985. This is a neat chronogram, the words themselves giving the day of the month and the letters of which they are composed the year in

he held in his hospice a meeting of *Ṣūfīs*,[1] and would insist upon the assembly joining in ecstatic songs and dances, and, how much soever one might excuse himself from this, the *Shaikh* would work himself up into a state of religious ecstasy, and his phrensy would extend, in its full power, to the rest. On the conclusion of this religious exercise food was served. The *Shaikh* made no distinction between king and beggar. Bairām Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān,[2] used generally to recite his Friday prayers in the *Shaikh's masjid*, and the effects of his companionship with the *Shaikh* were seen in his increased tenderness of heart. In sitting down and rising, in taking food, and in all other observances of etiquette no difference was made by the *Shaikh* between him and anybody else.

9.

VII. Shaikh 'Azīzu-'llāh.

He was a conspicuous example of the degree of divine knowledge which is within the reach of man. He was a very crucible of love for God, in which the pure gold of his being was ever at melting heat, until it reached the extreme limit of refinement and purity. This being his condition he was constantly weeping in his ardent desire for God, to such an extent that the world has never seen his equal. No sooner did the sound of a holy song or chant fall upon his ear than one would say that a violent wind had arisen, and was blowing through a fiery tempest. Praise be to God! What love and affection for God were seen in the noble nature of that great man! In the phrensied dance (of *darvishes*) and when he was vying with other mystics in working

which the *Shaikh* died. A similar chronogram has been composed for the date of Bābar Shāh's birth, *viz*:—شش محرم (the sixth of *Muḥarram*) giving A.H. 888

[1] The mystics of *Islām*. Some reference to their extraordinary doctrines has already been made. Their mysticism is "a hypertrophy of the religious feelings," "a monomania in which man blasphemously attempts to fathom the depths of the essence of God." (Sprenger. Preface to "*Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*," 1845).

[2] Bairām Khan was a *Shi'ah* by religion. He was a pious Muslim, and long desired to make the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. He had no opportunity of doing so until after Akbar's estrangement from him (Badāonī II (text), p. 38, (translation), p. 32). He was assassinated in Gujarāt on his way to Makkah, in A. H. 968 (A.D. 1560), vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann) II, p. 315.

himself up into a state of ecstasy,[1] occupations which formed the morning and evening exercises of his blessed condition, a flint, could it have looked upon his face, would have become softer than wax.

Shaikh 'Azīzu-'llāh had been the disciple of his own respected father, Shaikh Ḥasan, and acquired some of his excellence from his own elder brother, Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥasan, the spiritual guide and master of Shaikh Man of Pānipat. His life was governed by the rules of poverty, indigence, and humility. To champion the cause of the poor and helpless who came to him with their complaints he would travel long distances on foot, even though he had at the time entered into a forty days' retreat,[2] and though he had to visit the house of one who was without the pale of the faith in order to gain his object. After successfully fulfilling the wants of the applicant he would return to the cell of retirement and engage in his religious exercises as though no break had occurred in his retreat. He used to give to this worship, which benefited others, precedence and place before that worship the rewards of which are confined to the worshipper.[3] And it would sometimes happen that an unbeliever or an oppressor would pay no heed to his intercession on the first occasion, or, (knowing that the *Shaikh* was without), would purposely remain within doors, and the *Shaikh* would sit the livelong day expectant at his door, without being able to see his face. But on successive days[4] the *Shaikh* would go again and

[1] *Vide* Hughes, "Dictionary of Islām" *s. v. zikr*.

[2] اعتکاف اربعین (*i'tikāf-i-arba'ina*). "Sometimes a *Khalwati* enters a solitary cell, and remains in it for forty days and nights, fasting from daybreak till sunset the whole of this period." They "employ their time in repeating the testimony of the faith, imploring forgiveness, praising God, etc." (Lane's "Modern Egyptians," ed. 1860, p. 244). This was the nature of the retreats observed by Shaikh 'Azīzu-'d-Dīn, and that he allowed them to be thus interrupted says much for his practical piety. He continued his period of retreat as though it had not been interrupted.

[3] The translation of this passage is unavoidably ponderous. The original is exceedingly neat, and, translated literally, runs, "He gave place and preference to this *transitive* worship over *intransitive* worship." The terms are borrowed from grammar. The trope is somewhat obscure in English.

[4] *Lit.* "The next day:" but from the use of the word مکرر (*mukarrar*) "frequently," it is clear that the *Shaikh* did not confine himself to a second day's attendance only.

again [1] to his door and would sit in silence, nor would this slighting treatment produce on the clear mirror of his heart, which reflected the hidden knowledge of God, the rust of resentment. He would thus sit until the person to whom the intercession was to be made fell, shamed and remorseful, at his feet, and promptly and obediently fulfilled the desire of the beggar.

One day the *Shaikh* was present at a meeting of the mystics engaged in ecstatic songs and dances, as their custom is,[2] held by that prince of holy men Shaikh Niẓām-i-Auliyā, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), when a wretched maniac, uttering a yell, seized the *Shaikh* by the knees, and, lifting him up, turned him heels over head on the floor, so that his turban was disarranged, and he was hurt, but in outward appearance[3] he was in no way disturbed. At the time this act of the maniac was attributed to religious ecstasy and he was held to be excused, but the demented fool repeated his abominable trick on a subsequent occasion, when the magistrate of the city proposed to recall his scattered senses by means of a severe caution, a beating, and threats of what would happen to him in the future. The *Shaikh* made much intercession for him, and, kissing his hands and feet, kept him under his own protection, and did not suffer them to molest him in any way. In exoteric knowledge he was perfect himself,[4] and used to perfect

[1] The text inserts here the words بدربار او (*bi-darbār-i-ū*) "to his *levée*," which occur in neither MS., and are clearly an interpolation. They convey a wrong impression, for the context shews us that the *Shaikh* sat at the *door* of the oppressor. If he had gone to his *levée* he would at least have had an opportunity of speaking to him, which we are told he had not, until the oppressor, *hearing* of the *Shaikh's* continued attendance, felt compunction.

[2] This passage, and the fact mentioned in it, that the maniac's rude practical joke was attributed to religious ecstasy, give us some insight into the nature of the religious exercises of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[3] The word here used is بشرة (*bashara*) the primary meaning of which is "the external skin," "the cuticle, or epidermis." It also means (*vide* Lane "Arabic Lexicon," *sub voce*) "the complexion." The meaning of the passage is clear. The *Shaikh* did not even change colour.

[4] کامل - مکمل بود. This passage may also be translated "In exoteric knowledge he was a perfect man made perfect," if we mark the last syllable of مکمّل with فتحه. I prefer to mark it with کسرة, and translate it as above, for the mention of the *Shaikh's* teaching, immediately following this sentence, seems to me to indicate that مکمّل is to be taken as an active and

others, and he used to instruct his pupils in the expounding of the *'Arā'is*,[1] and of the *'Awārif*[2] and of the *Fuṣūṣu-'l-Ḥikam*[3] and its commentary. He was also the author of some well-known works, among them being the *Risāla-yi-'Ainiyyah* written as a reply to the *Ghairiyyah*[4] of Shaikh Mān of Pānīpat. Many obscure questions relating to the unity of essence[5] are therein treated of,[6] in accordance with the interpretation of perfect knowers of God.[7]

not as a passive participle. No diacritical point is given, either in the text or in the MSS.

[1] There are five well-known works having the word عرائس (*'arā'is*) as part of their title. The work here mentioned is without any doubt the *'Arā'isu-'l-Bayān* ("Brides of explanation") by Shaikh Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān Ibn Abī-'l-naṣri-'l-Baqilī of Shīrāz, the *Ṣūfī* (died A.H. 606 = A.D. 1209–10). This book is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, from the point of view of the *Ṣūfīs*. (Ḥājī Khalfā IV. 195).

[2] The work here referred to is the *'Awārifu-'l-Ma'ārif*—"bounty (in diffusing) the knowledge of God"——, a book on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, written by Shaikh Shihābu-'d-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdi-'llāhi Sahravardī, who died in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234–35). (Ḥājī Khalfā IV. 275).

[3] The *Fuṣūṣu-'l-Ḥikam*, (articulations of the sciences), is a work by Muḥiyyu-'d-dīn Abū 'Abdi-'llāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Arabiyi-'ṭ-Ṭā'i-l-Ḥātimī-'l-Andalūsi (died A.H. 638 = A.D. 1240–41). The book is divided into twenty-seven "articulations" or "joints," each containing the wise sayings of some prophet or sage, commencing with Adam, and going on to Shīth (Seth), Nūḥ (Noah), Idrīs (Enoch), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Isḥāq (Isaac) and others. The (reputed) sayings of our Saviour appear in the sixteenth "articulation." (Ḥājī Khalfā IV. 425 *et seqq.*).

[4] I cannot find any mention of these treatises elsewhere, but it is clear that they were polemical works on the theology, or rather mysticism, of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[5] *I.e.*, the essential unity of all things The doctrine of the *Ṣufīs* on this point is practically pantheism. "All things being of God, it follows that there is nothing that is not a portion of God,"—is their argument. Some have followed this argument to its logical conclusion by declaring that they themselves are God.

[6] In this place the text inserts the particle و (*ū*) "and." The word is found in neither of the MSS. and destroys the sense.

[7] The expression here used is ارباب شهود (*arbāb-i-shuhud*) or "lords of (*i.e.*, they who have experienced) ocular perception of God." This is a *Ṣūfī*-istic term the meaning of which is sufficiently well represented by the translation. Vide *Iṣṭilāḥātū-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah sub voce* شهود

At the time of the Khān-i-Khānān's disgrace,[1] and also for some years afterwards, I studied under that master of perfection, and listened to the recital of several books and treatises on mysticism,[2] and digested their contents—praise be to God. In the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567–68) the falcon of his soul winged its flight to the pinnacle of eternity, and the words "the pole-star of the path is gone,"[3] were found to give the date of his death. He always wrote himself in his treatises, writings, and letters "the worthless atom," and it was found that the words "the worthless atom"[4] also gave the date of his death.

11. VIII. Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī.[5]

He was one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farīd-i-

[1] A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559 60) *vide* Badāoni II (text), pp. 35 *et seqq.*

[2] تصوّف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[3] قطب طریقت نماند 100+9+2+9+200+10+100+400+50+40+1+50 +4=975.

[4] Not quite exactly. ذرهٔ ناچیز give 700+200+5+50+1+3+10+7=976 *vide* Badāonī II. text, pp. 105–106.

[5] Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī was highly honoured by Akbar. When the emperor desired a son he had recourse, by the advice of his courtiers, to Shaikh Salīm, who assured him that his prayers would be answered. Akbar promised to place the son, when he should be born, under the tutorship of Shaikh Salīm, and the *Shaikh* stipulated that he should be named after him. This was agreed to. When Jodh Bāī, the Jodhpūr princess who was married to Akbar, became pregnant, she was sent, when the time of her confinement drew near, to Shaikh Salīm's house, where she was delivered of a son, who in accordance with the *Shaikh's* stipulation was named Sulṭān Salīm, and who afterwards succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahāngīr. In gratitude for the gift of a son Akbar performed a pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of Khāja Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Cishtī in Ajmīr, distant rather more than 200 miles from Āgra. He travelled twelve *kurūh* or *kos* a day, reaching Ajmīr on the 17th day after leaving Āgra, (he must have rested several days on the way). Jahāngīr says that he never heard his father, drunk or sober, call him either Muḥammad Salīm or Sulṭān Salīm, but that he always called him Shaikhū Bābā (in honour of the *Shaikh*). Shaikh Salīm lived at Sīkrī, a village twelve *kurūh* distant from Āgra. The birth of Jahāngīr at Sīkrī under these circumstances caused Akbar to believe that the place was a particularly fortunate one for him, and led to the founding of the town of Fathpūr Sīkrī, afterwards the favourite residence of Akbar (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. *passim*, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, 'Aligarh edition, p. 1 and preface, pp. 2–5; also Badaoni, text II. 108, 109). Jahāngīr gives the distance from Āgra to Ajmīr as 140 *kurūh*.

Shakarganj[1] (may God sanctify his soul), and his native place was Dihlī. He stood in the relation of a disciple to Khājah Ibrāhīm (who was spiritually descended through five intermediaries from the most bountiful *Khāja*, the ascetic Fuẓail Ibn 'Iyāẓ[2]—may the mercy of God be upon him!) through whose instrumentality also he was first turned towards God. He twice travelled by land and sea from India to the two most holy places of pilgrimage,[3] there to perform the duties of the pilgrimage.[4] He set

[1] One of the most famous and popular of Indian saints, possessing cenotaph shrines in various places in Hindustan and the Dakhan. His father, Kamālu-'d-Dīn Sulaimānu, was a descendant of Farrukh Shāh, ruler of Kābul. He was born in A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188) "in the *Qaṣbah* (*pargana* town) of Khotwāl," near Multān whither his father had come from Kābul, and where he had married. By the advice of his spiritual guide (Khāja Qutbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtyār-i-Kākī), he went through the ordinary course of studies, "for a devotee without learning is the Devil's jester." He studied for five years in Qandahār, and then went to Dihlī to see Quṭbu-'d-Dīn There he remained as his disciple until his fame was so much noised abroad that he was pestered by the numbers of people who came to see him, when he retired to Hānsī. On Quṭbu-'d-Dīn's death Farīdu-'d-Dīn came to Dihlī to succeed him, again retiring to Hānsī at the earnest request of the people of that place and in search of peace. Being still annoyed by visitors at Hānsī he made Shaikh Jamālu-'d-Dīn of that place his deputy there, and set out in search of some secluded spot, at last selecting as his residence Ajūdhan, since called Pattan of Shaikh Farīd, or Pāk Pattan. There he lived and married and had a family. His principal troubles there were due to the jealousy of the local *Qāzī*. For the various stories accounting for his name of *Shakarganj* or *Ganj-i-Shakar* (treasure house of sweets), *vide Farishta*. Bombay text. Vol. II, in the account of his life, also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Jarrett) III. 363, 364 note. Farishta gives the date of his death as A.H. 760 (A.D. 1358), a manifest error, as his age is given as 95, which would make the year of his death A.H. 679 (A D. 1280).

[2] Al Fuzail Ibnu 'Iyāzi-'t Tālakānī. A famous ascetic, born at either Abīward or Samarqand. He was called At-Tālakanī from the town of Tālakān in Khurāsān. He began life as a highway robber but was miraculously converted to God. He died at Makkah in the month of Muharram A.H. 187 (Jan. A.D. 803). *Vide* Ibn Khallikan (trans. de Slane) II. 478–480. Fuẓail's name is given in the text as Faẓl, though both MSS. have Fuẓail

[3] حرمین الشریفین (*ḥaramaini-'sh-sharīfain*), i.e., Makkah and Madīnah.

[4] طواف (*ṭawāf*) circumambulation. Although the word is used here in connection with both Makkah and Madīnah, the only circumambulation enjoined (*Qur'ān* xxii. 27) is that of the *Ka'bah* at Makkah, which is performed seven times. The ceremony is, however, commonly performed by Indian Muslims, at any rate, at any holy place, such as the grave of a *Shaikh*.

forth on his travels, journeying to Asia Minor, Baghdād, Syria, Najaf,[1] (that holy spot), and other countries of the western regions, spending the whole year in travelling, returning to the glorious city of Makkah at the time of the pilgrimage, and then again setting out on his travels. In this manner he performed the pilgrimage twenty-two times, fourteen times during his first period of absence from India, and eight times during his second period of absence. On this latter occasion he spent four years in the glorious city of Makkah and four years in the delightful city of Madīnah, and during his sojourn in Makkah he used to spend the period during which Muḥammad's birthday occurred in Madīnah, and the period of the pilgrimage at Makkah. Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr who accompanied Shaikh Salīm gave the date of his latter visit to Makkah in the following couplets :—

Thanks be to God, of whose mere bounty
The holy region became our halting-place.
If any one ask the date of this event
We answer him, "We entered the holy region."[2]

And in that country he was known as *Shaikhu-'l-Hind*, or the holy man of India. He reached the age of ninety-five and travelled always in the path of the holy law delivered by the prophet (may God bless and save him!), always observing the most severe austerities and the most austere discipline, to a degree which can have been attained by but few of the holy men of this age. He observed, as a religious duty, the ceremonial purification and bathing before each of the five daily recitals of prayers, nor did he omit this duty before the weekly public prayers.

12. When Shaikh Mān of Pānīpat, (may God sanctify his tomb!), enjoyed companionship with Shaikh Salīm he put to him this question :—"Was it induction or revelation that was the means of your attaining to your goal?" Shaikh Salīm replied, "Our means is 'heart to heart.'"[3] Very many holy men who have

[1] Najaf, or Mashhad 'Alī, (the shrine of 'Alī) a town in 'Iraq-i-'Arab, on the Baḥr-i-Najaf (Lake of Najaf) and near the ruins of Kūfa. Here 'Alī, the nephew and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is buried.

[2] دخلنا الحرم giving 4+600+30+50+1+1+30+8+200+40=964.

[3] The method of the Ṣūfīs. They are "the elect," those to whom God more especially reveals Himself, drawing them to Himself with mysterious

reached perfection received their training in his service and companionship, and became his deputies and successors. Among them was the *Shaikh*[1] who after being perfected received authority to impart religious instruction to other disciples, and whose history is wellknown. Another was Shaikh Kamāl of Alwar, an old man inflamed and enwrapped with zeal, resembling in disposition the leaders among holy men. Another was Shaikh Piyāra of Bangāl, a man distracted with the grief of longing after God. His fame is great in the country of Bangal.[2] Another was Shaikh Fatḥu-'llāh Tarīn of Sambhal. Another was Shaikh Ruknu-'d-dīn of Ajūdhan,[3] and another was Ḥusain the *Khādim*, who was the best of Shaikh Salīm's deputies, and the midmost pearl in the string (of his disciples). He was the chief decider of abstruse questions in the hospice at Fatḥpūr. When Shaikh Salīm returned a second time to India the writer of these lines heard that he had attained to an extensive knowledge of, and pre-eminent proficiency in the Arabic language. I therefore sent him a letter containing two chronograms[4] of his two auspicious arrivals, which have been mentioned above. A verbatim copy of the letter is set forth below.

bonds, and inflaming their hearts with an ardent love for Him. *Vide* my note on their doctrines, *supra*.

[1] The name of this *Shaikh* is not given either in MS. (A) or in MS. (B). The general sense of the passage indicates that the name has been omitted, probably by a copyist's error. As the passage stands it is impossible to identify the *Shaikh*.

[2] دیار بنگ. "The original name of Bengal was Bang." *Āin-i-Akbarī* text. I. 388.

[3] Or Pattan, where is the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-'d-dīn Shakarganj, *vide supra*, p. 19 n. 1.

[4] For the two chronograms here referred to, *vide* Badāonī II, (text) p. 73. I feel bound to remark here, in order to save readers who cannot avail themselves of the original text some perplexity, that the passage just referred to has been completely mistranslated by Mr. Lowe. His translation makes Shaikh Salīm write an Arabic letter to Badāonī, whereas it was Badaonī that wrote this Arabic letter to Shaikh Salīm. These remarks are, I regret to say, absolutely necessary, as the passage in vol. II, referred to contains a reference to the Arabic letter here translated, a reference which must necessarily be unintelligible to readers who are bound to rely on the translation, and who cannot be expected to study closely the long list of *errata* at the end of the volume.

Copy of the Arabic Letter written by the Author to Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī.

Verily the religion which is approved by God is Islām.

Verse.

Salutations to those who walk round the *Ka'bah*,
By the circumambulation of which the pilgrimage of noble men is consummated,
Salutations to those who dwell in a place,
In which he who surpassed all men lodgeth.[1]

I present the duties of prayers, the breezes of the sweet odours
13. of which perfume the cells of the gathering places of holiness, and I send pages of greetings, the sweet odours of the waftings of which scent the meetings of the caravans of kindly fellowship. (These I send) to that high presence and to that exalted throne, the place of prostration for the foreheads of the great kings of the age—the spot to be kissed by the lips of the emperors of the cycle—the titles of which the imagination cannot comprehend by its intelligence, before the door of which titles are cast down—the high presence of the sun, which stands in need of neither praise nor description—that is, to the presence of the pattern for men, of him who is followed at this time, the *Shaikhu-'l-Islām*, may his shadow be ever extended over the heads of all creatures in general, and over the foreheads of the bands of feeble seekers after knowledge in particular. And since they (*scil.* my prayers and greetings) spring from sincerity of intention and proceed from singleness of heart, I hope that they will meet with the honour of acceptance, and the attainment of everything that is hoped for and prayed for is from God. After the performance of

[1] In both MSS. and in the text the second hemistichs of these two couplets are transposed, *i.e.*, the second hemistich of the first couplet appears as the second hemistich of the second couplet and *vice versâ*. Both the sense and the grammar shew that this transposition has been made. I have restored the hemistichs to their proper places. The translation of this letter will appear very stilted, but, the substance being worthless, I have judged it best to make the translation as literal as possible, for the letter itself has no place in this history except as an example of the author's Arabic style, with which he, at any rate, seems to have been well pleased.

what is incumbent on the neck of one of your slaves[1] and on the conscience of my soul may it become clear to your enlightened mind, the mirror of what is hidden, aye, to your great heart, the mirror of certainty, that not the half of a line of the hardship of separation from you and of the violence of the pain of longing after you can be contained in vessels of letters,[2] should all the trees in the earth become pens, and should the sea (become ink) with seven more seas[3] to swell its tide, in the passage of time and its changes. And the heart is the most faithful witness, as is well affirmed.

Verse.

"God knows that my soul has perished
"With desire of thee, but thou revivest it;[4]
"And a sight of thee, Oh, object of my desire, and my hope!
"Is more pleasant to me than the world and all that it contains."

And your slave, distracted with love, has striven with an utter striving and has endeavoured with a supreme effort to obtain the

[1] The text has الرقية. MS. (A) has الرقبة which makes better sense and which is the reading adopted by me.

[2] في ظروف الحروف, *i.e.*, in the vessels (or receptacles) of letters of the alphabet. The simile is clear.

[3] This text from the *Qur'ān* (xxxi. 26) is not quite fully quoted. The text runs:—

وَلَوْ أَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ أَقْلَامٌ وَالْبَحْرُ يَمُدُّهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ سَبْعَةُ أَبْحُرٍ مَا نَفِدَتْ كَلِمَاتُ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ.

"Even though all the trees on the earth should become pens, and the sea (ink) with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent; verily God is mighty, wise!"

The misapplication of it is apparent. Badāonī substitutes for "the words of God" the affection which he bears to the *Shaikh*. This savours somewhat of irreverence, and reminds us of the way in which Scripture was quoted in the days of Praise-God Barebone.

[4] This Hemistich appears, both in the text, and in the two MSS. in the following form:—

شوقًا اليك ولكـــن اميتهـــا

The hemistich, thus written, will neither scan nor make sense. The text has

felicity[1] of enjoying your noble company, and of hearing some of your polished discourse. but Fate assists not my designs, and ascent to the heaven of eminence is no easy matter.

Verse.

It is not everything that man desires that he obtains,
The wind blows in the direction which the ships do not desire.

14. In spite of this my reliance on the noble beneficence[2] of God is firm, and my hope in His gracious and boundless favours is sincere, (my hope being) that my eye may be suffused with light by the sight of your beauty, even as my heart is filled with the contemplation of the idea of you. Verily, God answereth our prayers and doth not disappoint us.

Verse.

I place my hope in God for the attainment of gifts,
And my Lord is the giver of what his slave desires.

And it is not far from your wonderful beneficence that you should give me to read an odour-diffusing epistle and send for me with a kind invitation. It is not fitting that the footsteps of my pen should wander more than this over the carpet of familiarity, and that the dove of composition should (any longer) sing on the branch of the tree of glee, and it is best to stop short at this period, and most meet and fitting to curtail (my letter) at the point of prayer (for you). May your exalted nature not cease

a footnote :—"*Sic* in all three copies; a word has evidently been omitted here."

Mr. R. F. Azoo, Arabic Instructor to the Board of Examiners, informs me that these lines are a quotation, though he cannot remember from where, and that the correct reading of this hemistich is :—

شوقاً اليک و لكن انت تحييها

I have therefore adopted this reading, and have translated accordingly.

[1] The text has يخطى, a misprint for يحطى.

[2] The text and MSS. have الكرام الا لهيه which does not make sense. We, should read الاكرام الا لهيه - اكرام (*akrām*) is a word not known in Arabic, but in Indian Arabic it is used as the plural of كرم (*karam*), and, as Badāonī's letter is distinctly Indian Arabic, it is permissible to adopt this reading.

to be protected from the casualties of ill-hap, and secured from the lightning-like mishaps of night and day.

Verse.

May you last as long as time, O refuge of the people of the time!
This is the prayer of all creatures.

May God answer the prayer of his servant, by the right of him after whom there comes no one."[1]

This letter was dated in the course of the years mentioned above. When I paid my respects to the *Shaikh* in the year H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69) having been introduced by Shaikh A'ẓam of Badāon, who was both son-in-law and cousin to Shaikh Salīm, he asked me "How has the position of the tomb of the prophet[2] (may God bless and save him) been determined in the books of 'the sayings' with regard to the tombs of the two *Shaikhs*?[3]

[1] The text rightly reads لاآتى instead of the الاتي of the MSS. "He after whom there comes no one" is Muḥammad, "the last of the prophets" or the "seal of the prophets." Muḥammad said of himself لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي "There is no prophet after me."

[2] رسالت پناہ *lit.*, "the resort of apostleship." The word used here is a compound adjective formed from this expression, and is impossible of translation. I have translated the word صورت (*Ṣūrat*) "form," by the word "position," for that word best conveys the true meaning of the passage. *Vide* next note.

[3] The two *Shaikhs* are Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who are buried, in graves adjoining Muḥammad's, within the precincts of the *Masjidu-'n-Nabawī*, or "the prophet's mosque" at Madīnah. The three tombs are, or are supposed to be within the *ḥujrah* (chamber), so called because it was the room of 'Ayishah, Muḥammad's favourite wife. The *ḥujrah* is "separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 ft. broad on the south side, and 20 on the eastern. The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Muḥammad's, "O Allah! cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!" Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by stone walls without any aperture, or, as others say, by strong planking. Whatever this material may be, it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large "four-post bed." (*Vide* Burton's "Pilgrimage to El-Medīnah and Meccah, ed. 1855, II. c. xvi)." The question put by Shaikh Salīm to Badāonī was put, no doubt with a view to testing the visitor's

(may God regard them both with favour!)" I said "In such a way, and others have said 'in such another way.'" He said, "Sahrawardī, in the '*Wāqi'a-yi-Ṣā'iqa*,'[1] where he verifies the forms of the three tombs, gives preference to the former statement of the case." In accordance with the *Shaikh*'s exalted command I remained for two days with Shaikh A'ẓam, who has been
15. already mentioned, in a cell in the old hospice, and enjoyed detailed conversations with the *Shaikh*. Then I obtained leave to depart for Basāwar.[2] Subsequently, in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) I repeatedly had the honour of paying my respects to the *Shaikh*, and one of his extraordinary acts[3] which I observed was that in the cold wintry air of the highlands of Fatḥpūr he never wore anything on the upper part of his body but a shirt of a single thickness of fine cotton cloth,[4] woven thin, and an upper garment of muslin,[5] and this in spite of the duty that he imposed upon himself of bathing twice daily. His daily food in the

knowledge of controversial works. There are few more fruitful subjects of controversy among Muslims than the relative positions of the tombs of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This is necessarily so, as the question is utterly indeterminable, unless the *ḥujrah* should be violated, an act of which no Muslim would be capable. The utility of the controversy is not apparent. From what Muḥammad himself is reported to have said (*vide supra*) it was clearly his wish that his tomb should be ignored. Such a wish is little likely to be respected by Indian Muslims, who are only too ready to perform the ceremony of *ṭawāf*, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the shrine of any petty saint. *Vide* Burton's strictures on the conduct of Indian pilgrims at Makkah and Madīnah, *passim*.

[1] This work is not mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfah. It was possibly a controversial work on the unedifying subject mentioned in the last note.

[2] The text has بساور with a footnote variant, پشاور. MS. (A) has بشاور and MS. (B). بساور, which last is the reading that I have adopted.

[3] خوارق "miracles." There are, *pace* Badāonī, no "highlands" (کوہ) in Fatḥpur Sīkrī, and it is not surprising that a man who had travelled for years in colder countries than India, undergoing the hardships which were, in those days, inseparable from travel, (السفر سقر), should have felt the cold, even in the cold weather, at Fatḥpur Sīkrī, very much less than stay-at-home Indians did.

[4] خاصه (*Khāṣṣah*), fine cotton cloth of a close texture. Its price in the reign of Akbar was from three rupees to fifteen *muhrs* per piece (عدد *'adad*). *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* text. I. 108.

[5] صلیل. Price Rs. 4 (otherwise, from Rs. 4 to five *muhrs*) per piece (*ibid.*).

quadragesimal fasts of union with God[1] was half a water-melon, or even less than that. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and the words "the Indian *Shaikh*" [2] were found to give the date of his death.

IX. Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn of Ambeṭhī.

Ambeṭhī is the chief village of a pargana in the District of Lakhnau.[3] Shaikh Niẓām was the disciple and pupil of Shaikh Ma'rūf-i-Cishtī, the line of whose spiritual descent goes back to Shaikh Nūr Quṭb-i-'Ālam. He followed the ordinary rule of life (of an orthodox Muslim) but was at the same time drawn towards God in a mysterious manner.[4] Although he was at first one of the students of remunerative branches of knowledge [5] his exalted disposition yet led him to turn much towards the things of the next world. His eyes were ever fixed on the page and his heart fixed on God, nor was he neglectful of the service of *zikr*,[6] and the employment of the soul (in God's service).

[1] Special fasts observed by devotees, *vide* note on اعتکاف, *suprā*. The only fast incumbent on all Muslims is the fast of *Ramaẓān*, lasting for one lunar month.

[2] شیخ هندي, giving 300+10+600+5+50+4+10=979.

[3] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* (text) I. 438, where the name is spelt ابیتهي (*Abethī*).

[4] جذبه ــ سلوک وجذبه باهم داشت means an intense longing after God, the result of special attraction exercised by God over the subject of the sensation. Here the rule of life of a *Ṣūfī* (or rather the absence of any such rule) is instructively contrasted with the rule binding on an orthodox Muslim. The *Ṣūfī* considers himself above all ceremonial rules, and may observe them or not, as he likes. If he does observe them, it is more for the benefit of the weaker brethren, the followers of the "holy law," than for any advantage that might accrue to himself from such observance. He is "one with God," "converted," "saved," and nothing he does or leaves undone can possibly affect him.

[5] علوم مکتسبه, the branches of knowledge by means of which one gains a livelihood.

[6] ذکر, "remembrance" and "recital." A form of religious exercise adopted by *darvishes*. It may be a physical as well as a mental exercise, being the recital of God's praises, attributes, etc., either with the tongue of the flesh, (ذکر جلي) or with the "tongue of the heart" (ذکر خفي); a detailed account of the various forms of the exercise will be found in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islām" (ed. 1885) pp. 703 *et seqq*.

Couplet.

Not for one moment do I turn my attention from that moon,[1]
I fear lest it should glance towards me and I should not be on the watch.

In a short time he obtained from his spiritual guide permission to impart religious instruction and to perfect disciples, and in the village of Ambeṭhi drew his foot within the skirt of contentment and withheld his footsteps from the doors of high and low, going nowhere except to the principal *masjid* of the Living God (in that
16. place) and sometimes to Khairābād[2] to walk round the illustrious tomb of the venerable Shaikh Sa'd, (may his tomb be sanctified!) and to see Shaikhu-'l-Hidyah,[3] the successor of Shaikh Ṣūfī, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb!), or to Gopāmau, in consequence of the friendship which he had for Qāẓī Mubārak of Gopāmau[4] who was one of his faithful disciples, a master of perfection, skilled in the holy law, and abstinent, and a very wealthy man. The *Shaikh* in the early days of his student life had first been attracted to God in the hospice of the *Qāẓī's* father. At long intervals he would take the trouble to go to Fatḥpur, by way of making a tour, to see Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghanī,[5] who also was one of the greatest among famous elders, and was held in the highest respect. Whenever he visited the hospice of Shaikhu-'l-Hidyah and the other places he would give of his worldly goods a rupee, a *tanka*, or some other offering, in accordance with the saying "Send presents to each other and you will love each other,"[6] and

[1] The word "moon" is generally used in Persian poetry as a synonym for "the beloved one," the object of the lover's devotion. Here, in *Ṣūfī*-istic style, it is used for God, as the Beloved of the mystic.

[2] The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Awadh (Oudh). It is near the present military cantonment at Sītāpūr. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* text, I. 437. Also Hunter's Gazetteer, VIII. 128. It will be observed that Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn used to circumambulate Shaikh Sa'd's tomb, a ceremony which should be confined to the *Ka'bah* at Makkah. This circumambulation of the tombs of saints has probably been borrowed, like some other customs, by Indian Muslims from the Hindus.

[3] *Vide infrā*, No. XIV.

[4] *Vide infrā*, Chapter II. No. XLVII.

[5] *Vide* Chapter II, No. XXXII.

[6] The text has نمیدهد for میداد, in spite of the clear reading of both MSS. But the reading of the text seems, nevertheless, to be correct.

then would fall into an ecstasy of delight. I have heard that he once snatched the book "*Fuṣūṣu-'l-Ḥikam*"[1] from the hand of Shaikh Abū-'l-Fatḥ, the son of Shaikhu-'l-Hidyah, who is now his great father's representative and sits on his prayer-carpet of *Shaikh*-dom, and, taking it from him, gave him another book, saying, "Read this." He made the books "*Iḥyā'u-'l-'Ulūm*,"[2] "*'Awārif*," "*Risāla-yi-Makkiyya*,"[3] "*Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*,"[4] [and other books of the same sort, the pivot on which his doctrine and practice turned, both in his religious duties and in the daily business of life. He always first recited the midday prayers with the congregation on Friday and afterwards recited the regular Friday prayers. In the *khuṭbah*[5] he altogether omitted the praises of kings. I saw him reciting the Friday prayers with his shoes on his feet, and he said "His holiness, the resort of apostleship, (may God bless and save him!) recited his prayers with his shoes on." On one occasion one of his pupils desired to learn a lesson from the book known as *Kāfiyah*,[6] asking for the *Shaikh's* blessing on

[1] فصوص الحكم, "Articulations of the Sciences." *Vide* note on this work, *supra*.

[2] The "*Iḥyā'u-'ulūmi-'d-dīn*" by the *Shāfi'ī Imām*, Ḥujjatu-'l-Islām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ghazālī, who died at Ṭūs, A.H. 505 (A.D. 1111–12). Of this book it has been said "If all books on Islām were lost, and the *Iḥyā* only remained, the loss of the others would not be felt." It is divided into four parts: (1) on ritual, and matters of faith, (2) on manners and morals, (3) on the lusts of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and (4) on the virtues of a religious life. (*Ḥājī Khalīfah* I. 180–182).

[3] *Ar-risālatu-'l-Makkiyyah*, by Shaikh Imām Quṭbu-'d-dīn 'Abdu-'llāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aimani-'l-Aṣfahīdī. *Ḥājī Khalīfah* III. 445.

[4] *Ādābu-'l-Murīdīn*, by Shaikh Abū-'n-Najīb 'Abdu-'l-Qāhir Ibn 'Abdi-'l-lāhi-'s-Sahrawardī, (d. A. H. 563 = A.D. 1167–68). *Ḥājī Khalīfah* I. 214.

[5] The oration or sermon delivered in the *masjid* every Friday.

[6] كافية في النحو. (*Kāfiyat-fī-'n-Naḥwi*) a work on Arabic Grammar, by Shaikh Jamālu-'d-dīn, commonly known as Ibnu-'l-Ḥājib, (d. A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248). An edition of it was published by Capt. John Baillie, (Calcutta, 1805). Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn objected to the use of it by his pupil on the score of its having no عنوان (*'unwān*), here called خطبة (*khuṭbah*), setting forth the praises of God. The pupil's argument was that he must learn Arabic grammar before he could read Arabic works on divinity, and that Grammar was therefore, in a sense, the foundation of a sound knowledge of divinity. The *Kāfiyah* commences, without the usual *'unwān* or preface, thus:—

الكلمة لفظ وضع لمعني مفرد

Ibnu-'l-Ḥājib has been defended against the charge of impiety on the plea of

17. his lesson. The *Shaikh* pretended not to hear him. After much insistence and persistence on the part of the pupil the *Shaikh* said "Read some divinity." He said, "This work too is on divinity, inasmuch as divinity depends upon it." The *Shaikh*, in the warmth of his love for God, said, "How can divinity depend upon a book on which the first argument that has been advanced is that the author has omitted the praises of God, (may He be honoured and glorified!) from the introduction on account of his humility?" He rarely accepted a disciple, and (when he had one) he did not appoint his tasks for him or give him instruction.[1] Among his chosen disciples was Shaikh Ḥātim of Gopāmau whom he had removed from the class of students who read in the hospice of Qāẓī Mubārak and kept with himself. To please the boy he would sometimes read lessons to him, and would sometimes give him a book, and set tasks for him, until he completely won his heart, and sometimes he would give him a turban, or shoes, or clothes. The *Qāẓī* and the other students, when they saw these favours (bestowed upon Shaikh Ḥātim) were envious[2] of him. The holy Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn, perceiving signs of this jealousy, said, "What can be done? God the Most High has willed to bestow upon Ḥātim a portion of prosperity by means of these unsatisfactory gifts, a few clothes and old shoes." Shaikh Niẓām obtained such complete power and utter influence over Ḥātim that in a short time he (Ḥātim) attained a great reputation, and Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn in expounding Divine truths and the mystic knowledge of God used to restrict the title of *Shaikh* to him alone. In the meanwhile[3] Shaikh Ḥātim experienced many ups and downs, and he was troubled with asthma, and various sicknesses, and just as he had acquired the right to be Shaikh Niẓamu-'d-dīn's

his humility, which led him to believe that his book was not worthy of an *'unwān*. Niẓāmu-'d-dīn was evidently too much of a precisian to admit this plea.

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 39, where the *Shaikh* gives his reason for neglecting this duty.

[2] The word used here is غبطه (*ghibṭa*). Its usual meaning is "ungrudging emulation." Badāonī, however, habitually uses it in the sense of "envy." *Vide* vol. I (Dr. Ranking's translation), p. 395 and p. 543, n. 4.

[3] در این میان. The word میان is inserted in the text, though it appears in neither S. It appears, however necessary to the sense, and the textual reading is therefore probably the cor ect one.

deputy and successor he chose the path to the next world. The *Shaikh* would often say, "There was a servant of God to whom I used sometimes to teach the word of God, and he used to understand it. Now that he is gone to whom shall I speak of it?"

When I, the compiler of these historical selections, paid my respects to the *Shaikh*, Shaikh 'Abdū-'z-Razzāq, who was both 18.
brother-in-law and father-in-law[1] to him, was generally in conversation with him, and sometimes, but rarely, the *Shaikh* would go to see (or would go out walking with) Shaikh Muḥammad also, his true deputy (or successor),[2] who now adorns the prayer-carpet of the *Shaikh* with his presence, sitting as his successor. Since the late Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān,[3] some account of whom has already been recorded by my chronicling pen, and who was a man to whom I was bound by the bond of regard more closely than can be expressed in writing, entertained a desire to become a disciple of the holy *Shaikh*, he was privileged to pay his respects to him by the co-operation of Sayyid Aṣghar of Badāon and Qāẓī Aḥmad, the brother of Qāẓī Mubārak of Gopāmau;[4] and this hap-

[1] هم خسر پورهٔ و هم خسر. Both wife's brother and wife's father. Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn must therefore have married an aunt and a niece. This is allowable by Muḥammadan law, provided that the two are not at the same time wives of one husband. The *Shaikh* probably married the aunt first, and, after her death, the niece.

[2] The text has here خلف صدق giving خليفه which is the reading of MSS. (A) and (B) as a footnote variant. The reading in the text has probably been adopted because خلف صدق is a much commoner phrase than خليفهٔ صدق. The sense is not affected. صدق is a substantive but must be translated as though it were an adjective.

[3] The name 'Muḥammad' is prefixed to Ḥusain in both MSS. The *Amīr* referred to is generally known as Ḥusain Khān simply, and is thus called in the subsequent passages of this narrative. He was Badāonī's first patron, *vide* note 4, on p. 6. He held Lakhnau in *jāgīr* for about a year only, during which time Badāonī was in his service. Kānt u Gola was subsequently given to him in *jāgīr*. For the account of Ḥusain Khān, here mentioned, *vide* Badāonī, vol. II *passim*.

[4] I can find no notice either of Sayyid Aṣghar or of Qāẓī Aḥmad, though an account of the latter's brother, Qāẓī Mubārak, is given subsequently in this volume (c. II, No. XLVII). In the text the words احمد برادر قاضي are very carelessly omitted, so as to make it appear that Qāẓī Mubārak himself, and not his brother, introduced Ḥusain Khān to the *Shaikh*. These words are nevertheless clearly written in each MS.

pened at the time when Lakhnau was settled on Ḥusain Khān in *jāgīr*, in A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568–69). I observed[1] that the *Shaikh* at the beginning of the interview addressed to everybody a few words appropriate to his condition, contenting himself with saying "Praise be to God" with the utterance of prayers, or restricting himself to such remarks as, "Glory be to God," "there is no god but God," "We seek protection of God,"[2] "In the name of God," "there is no power or strength but with God," or to the recitation of a verse from the glorious word (of God), or from the *ḥadīth*,[3] or from the sayings of noted saints. And every moment he glanced to his left, so that it seemed as though he were seeking from the master of the assembly[4] permission and leave to say something. On receiving leave from one of the company,[5] at the time when we were shaking hands with one another, he gave the Sayyid, mentioned above,[6] his blessing, saying to Qāẓī Aḥmad "Glory be to God," and to me, "In the name of God," using similar (pious) expressions to everybody present. At this very moment, before he could commence a conversation, a miserable worthless wretch of a student came up and recognized[7] the *Shaikh*, who, saying to him "I seek protection of God from the Devil, the execrable one,"[8] admitted him to the interview. He then began to expound[9] the verse of the *Qur'ān*, "Everything shall perish, except His face,"[10]

[1] The author's mention of himself in the third person, as is usual, is often apt to be confusing. It might appear from the structure of this long passage that it was Ḥusain Khan that 'observed,' but the subsequent context shews that Badāonī is referring to himself in the words چنان دید. The whole of this passage is very involved, and I have been obliged to break it up into periods and transpose portions of it, in order to render its meaning into passable English

[2] The text has, wrongly, تعوذ for نعوذ.

[3] حدیث, the recorded sayings of Muḥammad, which form the ground-work of Muḥammadan tradition and are venerated equally with the *Qur'ān*.

[4] حضرت جامعه (*ḥaẓrat-i-jāmi'ah*) lit. "the presence which had collected us together." Presumably Ḥusain Khān is meant.

[5] از جانبي (*az jānibi*) lit. 'from a certain direction.'

[6] *Scil.* Sayyid Asghar of Badāon.

[7] در یافت (*dar-yāft*), perhaps "singled out," or "button-holed."

[8] الشیطان الرجیم (*Ash-shaiṭāni-'r-rajīm*) lit. "the Devil, the stoned one."

[9] The text has a misprint here, تقسیر for تفسیر.

[10] *Qur'ān* XXVIII, 88. The *Kashshāf* explains that "face" means the whole Person of God. This is the figure of speech called in Persian ذکر بعض ارادهٔ کل.

addressing his discourse to Shaikh 'Abdu-'r-Razzāq who contented himself with saying "It is indeed so," and "Yes," (at intervals), occasionally pointing out some allusion. Nobody else had power 19.
to utter a word, awe and reverence preventing them. As for me, I was as though I was not,[1] and, reviewing my sins, sat in fear lest they should have been revealed to the *Shaikh*, and lest my inmost being should be laid bare to the light of day,[2] secretly watching all the while for an opportunity to escape from the assembly. At that moment that student asked, "Why should not the (possessive) pronoun affixed to the word *wajh*[3] (face) be referred to some thing, as masters of the secret knowledge of God have said?" The *Shaikh*, the moment he heard this speech, became much agitated, and the colour of his blessed countenance[4] turned to red and yellow, and he said, "Did I not, when I first set eyes on this devil, repeat the *formula* "We seek protection, etc.," and now, in the manner which we have just heard, his devilry has become apparent?" And when he discovered what the student's design was he repeated several times the formula, "There is no power or strength but with God," and quoted the following couplet from the *Qaṣīda-yi-Burda*[5]:—

"O thou who blamest me for my pure affection, excused
"Thou art by me therefor, but had'st thou done justice thou would'st not have blamed me."[6]

[1] محو مطلق. "Completely effaced."

[2] Something was evidently weighing heavily on Badāonī's conscience. He has not told us what it was. His disgraceful "love" affair did not take place until four years after this time. (Vol. II text, pp. 136–37).

[3] The text of the *Qur'ān* runs, in the original كل شيء هالك الا وجهه. The translation has just been given. The student's question meant "Can we not refer the possessive pronoun ("his" or "its") attached to the word وجه to some person or thing other than God?" It is but fair to remark that the question appears absurd, but still the *Shaikh* need not have substituted abuse for argument. Perhaps the sting of the student's question lay in his reference to the "masters of the secret knowledge of God," (اهل معرفت) which seems to convey a hint that the *Shaikh* and his companions could not be classed in that category. The reference below to the student's "design" seems to bear out this view.

[4] بشرة "the epidermis, or cuticle." *Vide suprā*, p. 16, n. 3.

[5] *Vide suprā*, p. 4, n. 1.

[6] In the text the article has been carelessly omitted before the word هوا

Intense love for God overpowered the *Shaikh* and he ordered the student to be turned out of the assembly, but afterwards, calling him back again, he appeased him, and the contemplation of this matter was a great warning to us who were present. That night passed very uncomfortably for me in the hospice, and I watched for the morning in order that I might escape. The early morning prayers [1] were recited with the *Shaikh* at the moment the true dawn began to appear, when we could not see one another's faces without a lamp, I indeed thinking that it was yet night. At sunrise the *Shaikh* came out of his cell and stood at the door of the *masjid*, ordering Miyāṅ Shaikh Muḥammad [2] to bring for us three whatever food might be ready, and I was in great agitation of mind, ever and again endeavouring to get Miyāṅ Shaikh Muḥammad to obtain leave from his master for me to depart. The holy *Shaikh*, with his *Qur'ān* in one hand and salt in the other
20. was appositely expounding the blessed verse, "Make ready then against them what force ye can, and squadrons of horse," [3] and so on to the end of the verse, ignoring my application for leave to depart. *Apropos* of what he was saying he then mentioned, in a most affectionate manner, Ḥusain Khan, who was at that time in the *pargana* of Isauli, [4] and said, "He is my son." [5] Then, follow-

in the first hemistich of this couplet, though it appears in both MSS. and is the correct reading.

[1] نماز باعداد commonly called in Persian نماز صبح, and in Arabic صلوة الفجر. The first of the five obligatory periods of prayer. These prayers should be recited between dawn and sunrise.

[2] This seems to have been Badāonī's younger brother.

[3] *Qur'ān* VIII, 62.

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ
وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَآخَرِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ
فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوَفَّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ -

The Arabic is very badly pointed in the text.

[4] A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Lakhnau, *Ṣūba* Awadh (Oudh). Most likely one of Ḥusain Khān's *jāgīr* villages, whither he had returned after the interview mentioned above.

[5] The text has here توتة, which means "parrot." Both MSS. read بوتة,

ing the dictates of his generous nature, which led him to bestow on every one, rich or poor, a piece of gold, or salt, or some other gift, he gave to me a *tanka*.

Of the miracles which I saw him perform, when I made that journey to visit him, this was one. As we three [1] were on the road to Ambeṭhī, journeying to pay our respects to the *Shaikh* (the road-police) had arrested a man dressed as beggar on a charge of theft and highway robbery, and had seized him by his clothes.[2] He in some way managed to effect his escape, and in that very hour came begging to the holy *Shaikh*; but notwithstanding all his persistence and lamentation the *Shaikh* gave him nothing. We who were present were much astonished, as we had often witnessed instances of the *Shaikh's* generosity. The *Shaikh* at once opposed and objected to [3] (our expressions of surprise) saying, "Look at the [4] thief, who both robs on the highway and poses as a beggar," and he drove him out of our assembly. This caused great astonishment, and when we looked closely at the man we recognized him as the same person whom the road-police had laid hands on.

On the same day another occurrence, similar to this, took place, but an account of it would occupy much space.

On the last day of *Ramaẓān*, in the year already mentioned, we were travelling rapidly at night [5] with Husain Khān, from his

which means "the young of man or of any animal," and is a far more appropriate term than توتة. I have, of course, followed the MSS.

[1] That is, Qāẓī Aḥmad of Gopāmau, Sayyid Aṣghar, and Badāonī himself, or perhaps Ḥusain Khān is included, in which case one of the other two must be left out.

[2] جامهٔ های اورا کشیده بودند. This seems to mean rather, "had pulled off his clothes," the thief leaving his clothes in the hands of the police and so escaping, but as Badāonī says immediately afterwards that the thief escaped بنوعي (in some way or other) I have translated the phrase by "seized him by his clothes," in order to preserve the ambiguity regarding the thief's means of escape.

[3] اعراض و اعتراض. The words و اعتراض are carelessly omitted from the text, though they occur in both MSS.

[4] The text has the word این ("this") here, though it occurs in neither MS. I have omitted it in the translation.

[5] The year was H. 976 (A.D. 1568). It must be borne in mind that the Muslims, like the Jews, reckon their day from sunset. Thus "the last day of *Ramaẓān*, at night," would be, according to our reckoning "the night of the

pargana to Ambeṭhī, and all our efforts were centred on reaching that place in time to recite the early morning prayers[1] in company with the *Shaikh*. The dawn had already appeared when, at three *kurūh*[2] distance from Ambeṭhī, we put spurs to our horses, and regretted that we were not in time for the public prayers.[3] We reached the *Shaikh's masjid* in Ambeṭhī as the sun was about to rise. At that moment the holy *Shaikh*, having come out of his house, was just commencing his prayers with the "*Allāhu Akbar*,"[4]
21. and he broke off, and we thought that we were just too late, but we nevertheless attained the great honour (which we sought). Now this act of the *Shaikh* was contrary to his usual custom, for he always recited the early morning prayers at a time when we thought that the true dawn had hardly appeared.

It chanced that towards the close of the same day the *Shaikh* was explaining the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*[5] in the *masjid*, and he read some[6] verses from the *Dīvān* of Khāja Hāfiẓ.[7] One of the

last day but one of *Ramaẓān*" or, in this case, as they travelled through the night "the early morning of the last day of *Ramaẓān*." The necessity for this explanation will be apparent hereafter, where it is stated that Ḥusain Khān returned to Lakhnau to keep the *'īd* there.

[1] نماز بامداد *vide suprā* p. 34, n. 1.

[2] The *kos* of Hindustān. *Vide* Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 414 and n. 2.

[3] جماعت. These prayers were hardly, in this instance, public. They were rather "common to two or more." Their merit lay in the "gathering of two or three together," as S. Chrysostom, quoting the Holy Scriptures, says.

[4] تحریمهٔ نماز. This is the repetition, at the commencement of the ritual prayers, of the *mu'azzin's* call to prayer, which commences with the تکبیر (اللّٰه اکبر "God is great") repeated three times.

[5] بیان تصوف. Reference has already been made to the doctrines of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[6] The word چند ("some,") which appears in the text, is in neither MS. I have, nevertheless, retained it, for the context clearly shews that the *Shaikh* read more than one couplet.

[7] The prince of Persian poets, the "interpreter of secrets," and "the tongue of that which is hidden." He is too well-known to stand in need of any description here. He is known even in England, where, as a rule, no one is known who has not been, as "sweet bully Bottom" was, translated. Hāfiẓ has not been translated into English, but the English equivalents of the Persian words used by him have been given by Colonel Wilberforce Clarke, R. E.

companions of the late Ḥusain Khān asked whose disciple Khāja Ḥāfiẓ was, and the *Shaikh* said, "He was the disciple of Khāja Naqshband,"[1] (may God sanctify his soul!) Another, *apropos* of the same subject, asked "How was horse-flesh regarded in the religion of the greatest of the *Imāms?*"[2] (*i.e.*, was it lawful food or not?) The *Shaikh* replied that the greatest of the *Imāms* himself ate horse-flesh, and when he reached this couplet:—

"The *Ṣūfīs* celebrate in one moment two *'īds* (great feasts)
"Spiders make pemmican of a fly."[3]

then I too, trusting in my own singleness of heart, thoughtlessly asked, "What is meant by the 'two *'īds?*'" This question annoyed the *Shaikh* and he angrily said, "Let Bāyazid[4] and Junaid,[5] or Shiblī[6] and Manṣūr[7] ask such a question as this. What have you to do with such a question?" And falling into this vein he spoke

[1] Khāja Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Naqshband. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, text, II, 212. Riẓā Qulī, according to Col. Wilberforce Clarke, states, that the *pīr* who instructed Hāfiẓ was Maulānā Shamsu-'d-Dīn-i-Shīrazī.

[2] Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of one of the four orthodox sects or theological schools of Islām.

[3] I cannot find this couplet in any edition of Hāfiẓ to which I have access. I know of no one English word which will translate the word قدید, so I have used "pemmican" as the word which most conveniently translates it.

[4] The person meant is Bāyazīd-i-Anṣārī, the apostle of the Afghāns, who is styled *Pīr-i-Raushan*, and founded the *Ṣūfī* sect called *Raushaniyyah*, or "the enlightened." He established amid the mountains of Afghānistān a temporal power upon the authority of his spiritual character, and his successors disturbed the tranquillity of the Dihlī empire during the reign of Akbar. *Vide* Beale's "Oriental Biographical Dictionary."

[5] Shaikh Junaid-i-Baghdādī, a famous ascetic, born at Baghdād, where he died in A.H. 298 (A.D. 911). (Beale O.B.D.)

[6] Shaikh Abū Bakr-'sh-Shiblī a celebrated doctor of divinity, born and brought up at Baghdād, where he died A.H. 334 (A.D. 946). Shaikh Junaid, mentioned in the last note, was one of his spiritual masters. (Beale O.B.D.).

[7] Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, the surname of Shaikh Ḥusain-i-Ḥallāj, a celebrated *Ṣūfī* and ascetic. Musalmāns differed in their opinion of his character. By some he was believed to be a saint and a worker of miracles, by others a juggler and impostor, deceiving the people with his tricks. He was in the habit of proclaiming "*Ana-'l-Ḥaqq*," "I am the Truth," or "I am God"—the logical conclusion of his *Ṣūfī* doctrines. For this blasphemy he was put to death with great torture by the *Khalīfah* Muqtadir in A.H. 306 (A.D. 919) or, according to Ibn-u-Khallikān in A.H. 309 (A.D. 922.) He is considered by the *Ṣūfīs* to be one of their most spiritual leaders, and to have attained

much on the subject, and I, hanging my head with shame, repented my indiscretion. Ḥusain Khān, biting his finger with consternation, looked ever and anon towards me, and his friends were all bewildered. Suddenly my lot was lightened by the rising of the (joyful) clamour which is heard on the appearance of the new moon of the *'īd*,[1] and all rose and busied themselves in mutual congratulations and hand-shakings. I rose, and on the plea of being fatigued went to recite my evening prayers in a tent which was pitched in a garden beside the *masjid*, feeling sick of life. When the holy *Shaikh*, going indoors, set food before his guests, he asked "Where is such an one?"[2] (*i.e.*, Badāonī), Shaikh Muḥammad, his worthy successor,[3] answered, "By reason of the
22. impertinence of which he was guilty he could not appear in the *masjid*, and he absented himself also from the public prayers. The *Shaikh* then sent me some food from his own table, with his blessing, and I was somewhat consoled, and entertained hopes of forgiveness. Early the next morning Ḥusain Khān went to Lakhnau, to join in celebrating the *'īd* there, and I alone remained in Ambeṭhī. The holy *Shaikh* recited the prayers of the festival in his *masjid* and afterwards occupied himself in giving instruction in the book known as the *'Awārif*.[4] Meanwhile Shaikh Muḥammad rose up to intercede for me, and asked that my fault might be forgiven. The *Shaikh* sent for me, and breaking off his teaching turned to me with great kindness, and when I, my eyes full of tears, placed my head on his foot, he embraced me and said "I bear no enmity or malice in my heart against anybody. Whatever I say is in the way of advice and spiritual

the fourth, or last stage of *Ṣūfī*-ism. An inspired *Ṣūfī* is said to have demanded of the Almighty why he permitted Manṣūr to suffer. The reply was, "This is the punishment for the revealer of secrets," *i.e.*, his offence was not blasphemy, but indiscretion in uttering a great truth to ears unfit to hear it. (Beale O.B.D.). It seems that the *Shaikh* was vexed with Badāonī for inquiring into matters which were beyond him (Badāonī) but it may be that the *Shaikh* was not ready with an answer and took advantage of Badāonī's known servility to "saints" to escape, by this means, the necessity of owning himself to be at a loss.

[1] *I.e.*, the new moon had been sighted and the *'idu-'l fiṭr* had begun.

[2] فلان. The use of this word is due to modesty, as the author by its use avoids introducing his own name.

[3] خلف صدق.

[4] *Vide suprā*, p. 17, n. 2.

instruction to the slaves of God, and abuse from me, as was the case with abuse from the prophet of God, (may God bless and save him), has on its object the same effect as praise (from another), and even if I utter a curse on anybody it has the same effect as a blessing.[1] Then, in affection, taking his cap from his blessed head, he gave it to me, and took me apart into the cell which was in the gate-house, and said "Perform your ceremonial ablutions in my presence, and recite your prayers." I recited them wonderingly. He said to me, "Men say of me that I do not instruct students. What instruction can I give? My instruction and religious teaching are just this much a tongue never weary of praising God and a thankful heart." Then he became agitated like a stormy surging sea and said "My life is instruction sufficient for seekers after God, and walkers in His way."[2] Just then two *darvishes* from Sindh, breaking the *Shaikh's* custom, began to sing outside an Indian melody in mournful and grating tones, and my spiritual condition underwent a change[3] by means of the influence brought to bear on me at that time. *Apropos* of this (influence) the *Shaikh* said that the great companions (of Muḥammad),[4] (may God be gratified with them!), when they saw that the desert 'Arabs newly converted to Islam were much affected by hearing the glorious *Qur'ān* read, 23.
regretted their own state, and the leader of the faithful, Abū-Bakr, the faithful witness of the truth, (may God be gratified with him!), said, "We were like you, but afterwards our hearts became hard: that is to say, they became firmly fixed and immoveable, so that they were like stones for lack of ability to be

[1] The *Shaikh* was evidently ashamed of himself, but, rather than confess himself in the wrong, adroitly managed to persuade Badāonī, by a line of reasoning that would be deemed irreverent by any Muslim who was not a slavish admirer, that he had received a blessing rather than an insult.

[2] *Vide suprā*, p. 30, n. 1. The text inserts between the words تلقين and طالبان the conjunction و, which is in neither MS. and destroys the sense.

[3] حال بر من از آن وقت متغير شد. This sentence is somewhat obscure, as حال may be taken to mean either "condition," simply, or "ecstasy." Nor is it clear whether Badāonī means that the mournful and harsh "music" combined with the *Shaikh's* discourse made him a changed man, or that the "music" broke the spell under which the *Shaikh's* discourse had laid him.

[4] Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Alī.

softened."[1] Then the *Shaikh* read some sentences which were quite unfamiliar to my ear, and gave me permission to use the following prayer constantly:—"O God, I seek protection of Thee against deafness, dumbness, madness, leprosy, and leucoderma."[2] When I took my leave and came to Lakhnau I made a stay of some days there, and the *Shaikh* would sometimes send me a piece of salt, which he used generally to hold in his hand and lick when in an assembly, reciting this saying of Muḥammad, "Salt is a cure for seventy diseases, except death."[3] And he would sometimes also send me some uncooked[4] rice, and sometimes an earthenware jar, and other presents, and he received my younger brother, the late Shaikh Muḥammad, into the company of his disciples and pupils, and in a short time, being blessed[5] with the holy *Shaikh's* regard he acquired angelic qualities and a love for the practice of ascetism. He generally observed the continued fast,[6] and spent his time in reading the glorious *Qur'ān*, in reciting God's praises, in exorcism, and in

[1] I have not been able to find another quotation of this saying. The text and both MSS. have the word تلوين, which means (in this context) "ability to receive colour." The sense is not apparent, as a stone can receive colour as well as can any other object. But if we read تليين, with a difference of one letter only, the meaning will be that which I have given in my translation, which is in every way more appropriate.

[2] جذام and برص. The first is the true leprosy, in which the fingers and other extremities gradually rot away, and the face assumes the "leonine" appearance. The second is *leucoderma*, or white leprosy, which itself affects only the colouring matter of the skin, but is commonly said (*Muḥīṭu-'l-Muḥīṭ sub voce* برص) to end in true leprosy. It is this disease with which Gehazi was smitten—"*Et egressus est ab eo leprosus quasi nix.*"

ויצא מלפניו מצרע כשלג 2 Kings v. 27.

[3] There are many "sayings" of Muḥammad on the virtues of salt. Some specify salt as a cure for some of the diseases for protection from which Badāonī had just been directed to pray.

[4] خام in both MSS. The text has خاص, with خام as a footnote variant. I have, of course, adopted the reading of the MSS.

[5] يمن the reading of both MSS. The text has ضمين, which destroys the sense.

[6] روزۂ قطی. This consists in fasting during the six days following the *'idu-'l-fiṭr*, *i.e.*, from the 2nd to the 7th of Shawwāl, inclusive. Abū Ayūb relates that Muḥammad said "The person who fasts the month of Ramaẓān and follows it up with six days of the month of Shawwāl, will obtain the rewards of a continued fast" (Hughes, Dict. of Islām, *sub voce* "Fasting.")

works of supererogation, so that not one hour of his precious life was wasted, or was passed in idleness, as mine has been.

"In respect of rose-water and the rose the decree of fate
from time without beginning has been this,
"That the former is a courtesan of the market-place, and
the latter a chaste and curtained dame."

And at that time he left the world, and it is certain that, preserving his faith intact, he retired to the garden of Riẓwān.[1] The venerable age of the holy *Shaikh* extended to more than eighty years, and even at that great age he begat children, and his departure from this abode of decay took place in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). 24.

X. Shaikh Bhīkan of Kākōrī.[2]

Kākōrī[3] is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau. The *Shaikh* was the most learned of the learned men of his time, abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even the greatest of the *Imāms*[4] (Abū Ḥanīfah) was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word (of God) to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction in *Shāṭibī*.[5] He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mīr Sayyid Ibrāhīm of Irīj,[6] (may God sanctify his soul!) who was

[1] Riẓwān is the keeper of the garden of Paradise.

[2] The text omits the *Shaikh's* territorial designation in the head-line, following MS. (B). I follow MS. (A) and insert it.

[3] Kākōrī, given in the text, for some reason or for no reason as کاکری (Kākarī). Both MSS. have Kākōrī. *Vide* also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (text) I.

[4] This is the reading of the text, and is undoubtedly the correct reading. The word *imām* is somewhat indistinct in both MSS. Perhaps the copyists considered Badāonī's comparison irreverent, and compounded with their consciences by writing the word امام as indistinctly as possible.

[5] This reference is to a poem named *Ḥirzu-'l-amānī wa wajhu-'t-tahānī*, the subject of which is the seven methods of reading the *Qur'ān*. The author was Abū-'l-Muḥammadi-'l-Qāsimi-'sh-Shāṭibī, from whom the poem is known as *Ash-shāṭibiyyah*. The author died in H. 590 (A.D. 1194). Shāṭib is said by Ibn Khallikan to be a town in Eastern Spain. I cannot identify it. *Vide* Ḥāji Khalfā III. 43, and Ibn Khallikān; s. v. *Ash shāṭibī*.

[6] Irij was the chief town of a *sarkar* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Āgra. Vide *Āin-i-Akbari*, text, Vol. I., p. 448.

himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The *Shaikh* would never mention the *Ṣūfī* mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private, to those who had been initiated in their secrets and one of his sayings was "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God[1] be made in public it turns again solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned men (present)."

He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishment of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and excellence.

The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān,[2] by being permitted to pay his respects to the *Shaikh* in Lakhnau. It was the blessed month of Ramaẓān, and a certain one brought to the *Shaikh* a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The *Shaikh* said "You should read some book on divinity."

The *Shaikh's* death occurred in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

XI. Shaikh Sa'dī.

He also was one of the more esteemed among holy men. His line of spiritual descent came through his own revered father, Shaikh Muḥammad (may God render his soul fragrant). Shaikh Muḥammad wrote a commentary in Persian on *Shāṭibī*,[3] which covered nearly seventy quires of paper. His true successor,
25. Shaikh Sa'dī, was subject to fits of overpowering religious ecstasy, and was pure both in body and soul. He was ever cheerful and light of heart, and lived happy and free from care. To one of his friends he wrote in a letter, when saying farewell to him :—

"Thy Sa'dī's eyes and heart are with thee on thy way,
"So deem not that thou goest alone, they bide with thee alway."

His death occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-4).

[1] نکتهٔ توحید. This means really the confession of the unity of everything with God and of God with everything, the expression of belief in the pantheism of the *Ṣūfis*. The meaning of this somewhat enigmatical "saying" is that such a statement made in public cannot possibly edify the uninitiated, and is confined in its results to the speaker and the initiated present. The text wrongly following MS. (B) has اهل عالم "men of the world," for اهل علم (MS. A) "men of knowledge."

[2] Badāonī's first patron, *vide suprā*, p. 6, n. 4.

[3] *Vide suprā* in the life of Shaikh Bhīkan, the last mentioned holy man.

XII. Sayyid Tāju-'d-Dīn, of Lakhnau.[1]

He was one of the successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,[2] and was a master of the art of exorcism. He had a great reputation for asceticism, holy poverty, and resignation, and was generous and open-handed. He came to Lakhnau, where very many were honoured by converse with him, and received from him permission to give instruction in religious matters. There he died.

XIII. Shaikh Muḥammad Qalandar of Lakhnau.[3]

In his youth he served in the army, in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodi,[4] but[5] when the Emperor Bābar conquered India he gave up that profession for a life of holy poverty, sacrificing all his ambition thereto.[6] He became a disciple of Shaikh Buhlul, devoting himself to the service of God and to asceticism. From his spiritual instructor he learnt the proper use of some of the names of God in exorcism, and lived the life of a recluse in a garden, most of the trees of which had been planted by himself, shutting in his own face the door of entry into and exit from the houses of other men. They used to say that for more than thirty years his food had been nothing but milk alone, and that he never used pulse or any sort of food other than (milk). One day when Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, accompanied by me, went to visit him, a cat came up to the *Shaikh* mewing piteously. The *Shaikh* said "This cat has cause of complaint, for you have wasted both her time and the time of the master of the house, 26.
causing it to be passed in frivolity, and distracting my heart."

[1] In MS. (A) the life which here follows is headed with the name of Shaikh Muḥammad Qalandar of Lakhnau, biography No. XIII being given as the life of this saint. I follow the text and MS. (B) in the arrangement of the names, but follow the two MSS. in the designation of Sayyid Tāju-'d-dīn—"of Lakhnau"—which is omitted in the text.

[2] No. III.

[3] *Vide* note on the heading of biography No. XII.

[4] The third and last sovereign of the Lodī dynasty, grandson of Buhlūl Lodi, the first of the line. Sultān Ibrahīm was conquered and slain by Bābar on the field of Panipat in A.D. 1525.

[5] MS. (A) has و here—correctly as it seems to me. The text and MS. (B) omit it.

[6] A cumbrous translation of ناصرادی, but one which explains its meaning fully.

XIV. Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn [1] of Nārnōl.

Nārnol [2] is one of the famous cities of India. Although the *Shaikh* was the disciple of Shaikh Khānūn of the *Cishtī* [3] order, who was settled in the fort of Gwāliyār, he always declared that he acquired most of his excellence, and education, as well as the spiritual succession, from his own elder brother, Shaikh Isma'īl by name. He was a *Ṣūfī* who had attained the first stage of recognition of God,[4] had overcome his desires, and had acquired complete hope in God's mercy. He was thoroughly acquainted with the (spiritual) condition of those who had retired from the world and had chosen the religious life, and possessed great influence over them I have heard that he used to order the *darvīshes* of his hospice, during eclipses of the moon, to take oil of the *Celastrus*,[5] (a medicine well-known in India, on which treatises, describing its virtues, have been written, and of the properties of which the author has had some small experience), and that under its influence the truth about the next world [6] was revealed to them, and that he used to recount to them [7] other wonderful matters—but God knows the truth.

He remained seated on the throne of religious guidance for nearly forty years, and from early youth to the end of his life

[1] The text and MS. (B) have "Shaikh Niẓām" only, but MS. (A), which I follow, gives the *Shaikh's* full name.

[2] The chief town of a *sarkār* in the *Ṣūba* of Āgra (vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. trans. Jarrett, pp. 97, 182, 193.

[3] *Vide suprā, passim.*

[4] ذوق vide *Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Sprenger) s. v.

[5] روغن مالكنگني (*raughan-i-māl-kaṅgnī*). *Māl-kaṅgnī* is the Hindī name of celastrus or staff-tree. The oil is extracted from "the aromatic bitter seed" of this tree, and is "held in much repute for diseases of the stomach and bowels." *Vide* Fallon, *s. v.*

[6] احوال آخرت مكشوف ميشد. This is not one of the properties attributed to the drug by Fallon. It is pretty evident, from what Badāonī says, that the drug, whatever it may have been, was an intoxicant, used by Niẓāmu-'d-dīn's orders for the purpose of inducing a trance, or mock state of religious ecstasy. The ordering of the use of the drug on the particular occasions mentioned points to a debased superstition which has but little connection with pure Muḥammadanism.

[7] The text inserts بر here, although the word appears in neither MS. and is pleonastic. I follow the readings of the MSS.

there were very few years in which he did [1] not make a pilgrimage on foot, inflamed with strong desire and fervour, losing no time on the way, to the shrine of that holy pole-star of the world, Khāja Quṭbu-'d-dīn Bakhtyār of Ūsh,[2] (may God sanctify his tomb!). Towards the end of his life, owing to old age, and other things which hindered him (from performing this pilgrimage), he used to celebrate the festival [3] of the sainted *Khāja* in Nārnōl. In abandoning all outward show he followed the footsteps of his spiritual guide, and in his freedom from ceremoniousness and formality he regarded rich and poor alike, observing the same impartiality also in admitting disciples. I saw him when he was surrounded by a crowd, and so did not attain to the honour of conversing with him. His death took place in the year H. 997, (A.D. 1588-9,) and the words "Alas for Niẓām" [4] were found to give the date. 27.

XV. Shaikhu-'l-Hidya of Khairābād.[5]

He was profoundly learned and in early life spent many years in teaching and giving instruction. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ṣafī, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sa'īd, and held from him a diploma, authorizing him to give religious instruction. In early life he employed [6] himself to such an extent in the acquisition of exoteric knowledge that there are now living many wise men,

[1] MS. (A) has here ميرسيد, which is wrongly substituted for نميرسيد. I have followed the reading of the text and MS. (B) which is correct.

[2] MS. (B) has (wrongly) اوشني for اوشي. Ūsh is in Transoxiana and was the birthplace of the Khāja, who died on the 14th Rabī'u-'l-Awwal A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236). He was offered by Sulṭān Shamsu-'d-dīn Iyaltamish the post of Shaikhu-'l-Islām, which he declined. The Khāja's full name and titles were Khāja Quṭbu-'d-dīn Muḥammad Bakhtyār-i-Ūshī-yi-Kākī. *Vide* Farishta, Bo. text, II. 717–725 and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. trans. Jarrett, 303 and note 2.

[3] عرس The term usually applied to the festival of a Musalmān saint in India. The word means "nuptials," and is used to signify the saint's union with God, the festival usually commemorating his death.

[4] نظام ع. 1+5+50+900+1+40=997.

[5] The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Awadh (Oudh). The unusual name of this saint recurs in the Pādishāhnāma, as the name of one of Shāh Jahān's officers.

[6] MS. (A) has wrongly, مشغول for مشغولي here. I follow the text, which is supported by MS. (B).

masters of perfection, who owe their wisdom to his teaching.[1] Latterly he devoted[2] himself wholly to the *Ṣūfī*-istic rule, founding an order of devotees, vowed to personal poverty, whose rule was resignation to God, retirement from the world, and the giving of alms. A keen appreciation of the ecstatic songs and dances (of *darvīshes*) and an overpowering religious ecstacy were comprised in his daily system of religious exercises,[3] and were never omitted. He restrained his steps from wandering to the doors of men, especially of worldly men, and those of position and rank, and on these grounds he never accepted an invitation to a feast. All his offspring and followers secured the good fortune of the assistance of the example of his practice in enduring poverty and want. One of them was his true successor[4] Shaikh Abū-'l-Fatḥ, who succeeded to his prayer-mat, and is one of the most pre-eminent[5] among the learned men of this time. In his rules of conduct, both outward and inward, he follows, wholly and completely, his venerable father, and he is the author of many standard works on most branches of knowledge. Never did a beggar go away disappointed from the *Shaikh*.

One day Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān asked the *Shaikh*, "What sort of a man was Sālār Mas'ūd,[6] whom the common people of

[1] *Lit.* "are his heirs."

[2] The text has نمود while both MSS. have نمودة, which is correct.

[3] The text has here دورد وظيفه which is a very unsatisfactory reading. The MSS. give ورد و وظيفه, which is undoubtedly correct.

[4] خلف صدق.

[5] فحول pl. of فحل. Literally "males." The force of the expression will be understood when the Oriental view of masculine superiority is remembered.

[6] Sister's son to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. He was slain by Hindūs at Bahraïc, in Awadh (Oudh) on his wedding-day, which thus became, in a double sense, his عرس (*vide suprā*). The point of the question, put to a presumably orthodox Musalmān, will be appreciated only by those who are acquainted with the latitudinarian cult of this "saint." Want of space compels me to forego an account of this cult, but those who are interested in the popular religion of Indian peoples and in the peculiar developments of Muḥammadanism in India will do well to study "Heroes Five" by Mr. R. Greeven of the Indian Civil Service. Curiously enough this Northern Indian cult finds its counterpart in the Dakhan in the cult of 'Abdu-'r-Rahmān, a close relation of Sālār Mas'ūd, which however is not nearly so popular as is the cult of the latter.

India worship?" The *Shaikh* replied, "He was an Afghan who met his death by martyrdom."[1]

Towards the end of his life, in accordance with an Imperial summons, he came to Fatḥpūr and there saw the *Khalīfa*[2] (vice- 28.
gerent) of the age. When the Emperor heard that the *Shaikh*, when the messenger conveyed the summons to him, set out from his hospice on foot, without allowing anything to detain him, travelling thus until his servants sent his baggage and travelling litter after him, he was much pleased. When he asked the *Shaikh* a question the *Shaikh* would make a sign to signify that he was hard of hearing, and the Emperor would give him a piece of gold. He also ordered that a subsistence allowance[3] should be assigned to the *Shaikh*, and then immediately gave him permission to depart.

The *Shaikh's* death occurred in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1585). May the mercy of God be upon him!

XVI. Shaikh Dā'ūd of Chatī.

(May God sanctify his soul!).

Chatī[4] is the chief town of a *pargana* in the District of Lāhōr. The *Shaikh's* noble ancestors came first from the land of the 'Arabs[5] to Sītpūr,[6] which is in the Multān country, and the holy *Shaikh* was himself born in that place. His noble father proceeded[7] from this world to eternity before his birth, and his mother died[7] very shortly after it, and he, left alone, as an incomparable

[1] The very curtness of this reply shews the *Shaikh's* unwillingness to countenance in any way the debased cult of Sālār Mas'ud.

[2] *Scil.* Akbar.

[3] مدد معاش. Either a subsistence allowance in money, or, more probably, lands held on *aima* tenure.

[4] MS. (A) and the text have جهني. MS. (B) has چهني. The description of this town given in the text enables us to identify it with Chat. Chat and Ambāla (not to be confounded with the well-known military cantonment, which was in the Sirhind *Sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Dihlī), together formed a *maḥall* in the *Sarkār* of the Bārī Dūāb in the *Ṣūba* of Lāhōr. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 318.

[5] ولايت عرب. A vague term including both Turkish Arabia and Arabia Proper.

[6] A *pargana* town in the district "*Bīrūn-i-Panjnad*," (beyond the five rivers,) opposite the Sind Sāgar Dūab *Sarkār* of the *Ṣuba* of Multān A.A II (Jarrett), 331.

[7] خرامیدة.

pearl,[1] was brought up under the guardianship of his elder brother, Miyan Raḥmatu-'llāh. When they set him tasks in the reading of the *Qurā'n*, tears would sometimes flow over the surface of his blessed cheeks, and he would say, "Trouble me not in respect of this matter, but leave me unto God the Most High." From this time they knew that he had no need of any acquired learning.

Couplet.

"What need had he of instruction in polite learning,
"Who was himself from the first well learned therein?"

They say that one of the two princes of both worlds, either Imām Ḥasan or Imām Ḥusain,[2] (may God be gratified with them!), it cannot be decided which, taught the holy *Shaikh* in
29. a dream some verses from the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, and sometimes when he went, to refresh his heart, to watch the play of children,[3] he would dejectedly and perplexedly watch them from afar, and would say, "I see their faces scratched, their bodies[4] covered with blood, and their skin torn off, and some of them appear to me as though they had lost their heads."[5]

When, after many temporal vicissitudes and various hardships, he came to the pargana town of Satgarah,[6] and from there to Lāhōr, he commenced to study under Maulānā Isma'īl of Uch,[7] who had received instruction from his highness the lord Maulavī

[1] در یتیم *lit.* "an *orphan* pearl," *i.e.*, a pearl which has no peer. The double meaning of the word یتیم cannot be reproduced in English.

[2] The slaughtered sons of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, and grandsons of Muḥammad.

[3] The text has بتماشا بازیچ خردسالان میرفت, but both MSS. have بتماشای بازی خردسالان میرفت, which is evidently the correct reading. I follow the MSS.

[4] The text here has بدنهای with the یای اضافه though the word is thus written in neither MS. The mistake does not alter the sense, but it destroys the structural uniformity of the sentence.

[5] This phrase is here used in its literal sense. The Persian has که گویا سر ندارند.

[6] This must be Ṣadkhara or Ṣadkara, as it is written in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, (both text and translation) in the Bārī Dūāb *Sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Multān.

[7] The well-known town in the *Sarkār* Bīrun-i-Panjnad (beyond the five rivers) in the *Ṣūba* of Multān. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II (trans. Jarrett), p. 331, Raverty "*The Mihrān of Sind*," J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

'Ārif-i-Jāmī, (may God sanctify his tomb!), and in early youth he read the commentary of Iṣfahānī[1] with such critical acumen,[2] that the best students from among the natives of the country, who were reading that book in class with him, stood[3] astonished at the perspicuous quickness of his apprehension and the clearness of his intellect, and his tutor said, "Friends, just as we, in our time, used to rejoice and contend for superiority in the sight of our respected master, so too will this lad, before long, attain to such a degree of respect that the people will[4] look towards him with blessing and benediction, and from his noble and profitable words will gain advantage and excellence."[5] At last he became a living witness (of the truth of) and (one might say) the source of (the saying), "Blessed is he who hath seen me or hath seen one who hath seen me."[6]

"My love, though he went not to school, nor wrote a line,
"By means of one glance instructed a hundred teachers in (difficult) problems."[7]

And, having attained the position of a most learned sage he was rejoiced with the good news of the sacred text, "O David, verily have we made thee a vicegerent."[8] And at the very time when he was employed in the exercise of harsh and severe

[1] الشرح المكمّل. "El-Sharḥ El-Mokammel, commentarius absolutus de genealogiâ Hasani neglecta, auctore Imam Hâfitz *Abu Musa Mohammed Ben Omar Medini Isfahâni*, [anno 581 (inc. 4 Apr. 1185) mortuo]. In hoc compendio, quod ita incipit: Laus Deo, qui ex cultoribus suis eos quos vult praeter ceteros distinxit, etc., auctoritatem *Hasani Ben Moslim* in traditione '*Moslim*,de potionibus' describit." Haji Khalfa. iv. 41.

[2] بطوری باستحقاق.

[3] MS. (B) has میماند. The text rightly follows MS. (A) with میماندند.

[4] MS. (B) has خواهد. The text rightly follows (A) with خواهند.

[5] The text, following MS. (A) has استفاصة. There is no such word. MS (B) has استفاضة which is correct.

[6] One of the traditionary sayings of Muḥammad, in which he refers to himself.

[7] A couplet from Ḥāfiẓ, Ode 241 (Colonel Jarrett's edition). The text and MS. (A) have for غمزة, غمزة, MS. (B) has غمزة, غمزة is correct.

[8] يا داود إنّا جعلناك خليفة. *Qur'an* XXXVIII. 25.

austerities, having conceived, by means of the attractions of God,—"which are equal to the acts of both men and *jinn*,"—a
30. strong craving after God, his spiritual holiness Ghauṣu-'ṣ-Ṣaqalain (may God be pleased with him!) evinced, in all circumstances, great interest in his progress, and became his helper, assister, and guardian, keeping his regard always fixed upon him, openly listening to and returning favourable answers to his petitions, until he perforce drew him, after the manner of beloved ones who are attracted, and attracted ones who are beloved,[1] to the court of saintship, Divine guidance, and perfection, to the closet of propinquity (to God), to the chamber of the grandeur of God, and to the resting-place of the Holiness of the Lord of Majesty. When under the influence of this strong craving after God he used to wander bare-headed and bare-foot in the desert about Dibālpūr,[2] the dwelling-place of beasts of prey, wild animals, and birds, in a spot now known as Shīrgarh:—

Hemistich.

"We are lovers wandering in the plains of Damascus."[3]

And sometimes when he went to circumambulate[4] the blessed shrine of that holy Saint, obeyed of all the world, Ganj-i-Shakar,[5] (may God sanctify his tomb!) he would there receive signs, and experience happy visions, and engage in conversation and intercourse (with the saint's spirit), a detailed account of which is beyond the limits of this hastily compiled history. They are recounted in detail in the book (known as) *Nagẖmāt-i-Dā'ūdī*,[6] which was written by that cream of saints and fruit of the pure

1 محبوبان مجذوب و مجذوبان محبوب. The pleonasm is unavoidable.

2 Or Dipālpur. The chief town of a *tahsīl* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Multān, now the headquarters of the Dipalpur *Tahsīl* in the Montgomery District, Panjab. *Vide* Hunter's "*Imperial Gazetteer*" iv. 303. *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Jarrett), Vol. II. 331 *et passim*, and Raverty's "*Mihrān of Sind*," J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

3 MS. (A) has, wrongly, و مسنقیم for و مشقیم.

4 Another instance of the use by Indian Muslims of the practice of circumambulation, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the tombs of saints.

5 *Vide suprā*, p. 19, n. 1.

6 The title of this book, written in honour of Shaikh Dā'ūd, evidently bears reference to the psalms of David.

at heart. Shaikh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the son of Shaikh Raḥmatu-'llāh, already mentioned, the date of whose most fortunate birth may be deduced from the words "the beggar of Shaikh Dā'ūd,"[1] or from the words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the worshipper of the true (God),"[2] and who is now the successor of Shaikh Mīyān Dā'ūd, (may God sanctify his soul!). When he had spent a period of twenty years, or thereabouts, in ecstatic longing after God and wandering over plains and deserts, he was inspired to revert to a regular mode of life[3] and to the religious instruction of the people, but since he had had no outward religious instructor and guide he hesitated to undertake the charge, until he was initiated and appointed by his spiritual holiness Ghauṣ-i-A'ẓam[4] for the following duty, namely, to assist, for the sake of preserving the spiritual succession, the reverend Shaikh Ḥāmid-i-Qādirī 31.
(may God sanctify his tomb!) who was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, and the father of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir,[5] who at the time of writing is occupying his venerable father's place in Uchh, by drawing him (more closely) to God. And the late saint, (may God have mercy upon him!) since he had already many times asked for assistance from this disciple, who was after his own heart, and turned to him in every important business, and had asked[6] that a *fātiḥah*[7] might be offered up on his (the late saint's) behalf, delayed to draw up his blessed tree of spiritual succession and to issue a permit for

1 گدای شیخ داود. 20+4+1+10+300+10+600+4+1+6+4=960.

2 ابو المعالی حق پرست. 1+2+6+1+30+40+70+1+30+10+8+100+2+200+60+400=961. The totals of the two chronograms differ by one. This latter chronogram is given in Abū-'l-Ma'ālī's life, on p. 103 of the text of this volume as the date of his birth, and therefore presumably gives the correct date.

3 سیر و سلوک.

4 An instance of the belief among Muslims leading the religious life that something which seems, according to their ideas, to correspond to the Sacrament of Orders in the Christian Church, is necessary to enable a man to start as a religious instructor of the people.

5 His life is given on p. 91 (text) of this volume. (Chapter II, No. XVI.)

6 The word التماس is omitted in MS. (B) probably by an oversight of the copyist.

7 Prayers offered up for the welfare of any person. Vide "*Qanun-i-Islām*," Ja'far Sharif and Herklots, s. v. "Fateeha neeut khyr kee."

perfecting of disciples until he himself went one day to the town of Satkara,[1] where the saint (may God have mercy upon him!) had many times previously lodged, on which occasion, when under the influence of his ecstatic longing after God, he said, "Here is Shaikh Ghauṣ-i-A'ẓam (may God be pleased with him!) who has come and signifies that he entrusts to me his prayer-carpet, staff, tree of spiritual succession, horse, covered litter, and all the appurtenances of *Shaikh*-dom and spiritual leadership." When the saint (may God[2] sanctify his tomb!) was informed from on high of that occurrence, and when his knowledge of it was afterwards completely confirmed, he entrusted the divine charge committed to him to him whom his soul desired, but who appeared as though he were the seeker (not the sought after), returning from his soaring flight (of ecstasy) to ordinary intercourse (with his fellow creatures), and spread the mat of sojourning in the newly-built town of Shīrgarh, near to Chatī,[3] and half-way between Multān and Pattan, started a new order, the *Qādiriyyah*,[4] which is midway between the two exalted orders, *Sahrawardiyyah* and *Cishtiyyah*,[5] (blessings on them, all three, from God!) and in the Divine power and by means of close connection with the true God, he so carried forward[6] the work that the sound issuing therefrom will not die away[7] until the sounding of the last trump.

When Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Sulṭānpūr, who was known as Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, girded his loins to strenuous efforts

1 *Vide suprā*, p. 48, n. 6.

2 The word الله is omitted in MS. (B). As vowel points are not used the reading of MS. (B) is to the same purport as that of the text and MS. (A), but would be literally translated, "May his tomb be sanctified."

3 MS. (B). The text and MS. (A) have بجهني. *Vide suprā*, p. 47, n. 6.

4 This order must not be confounded with an older order bearing the same title, instituted in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165-6) by Sayyid 'Abdu-'l-Qādiri-'l-Jilānī, surnamed *Pir-i-Dastgir*, whose shrine is at Bāghdad. The older order is the most popular religious order among the *Sunnis* of Asia. Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, *s. v.*

5 These orders have been already referred to. Following the names of these two orders the text wrongly has و سلسلهٔ قادریه. The conjunction must be omitted to make sense.

6 Both MSS. insert که here, which makes nonsense, and is rightly omitted in the text.

7 Both MSS. have بنشیند, but the textual emendation is correct.

in uprooting the men of God,[1] becoming the means of the death of several of them, he sent an imperial order in the name of Salīm[2] Shāh Sūr, the Afghān, from Gwāliyār, summoning the holy *Miyāṅ* among others, in obedience to which 32.
order the *Miyāṅ* set out in haste with one or two attendants, and, meeting Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, outside Gwāliyār, with marks of the greatest[3] respect,[4] alighted in a spot where he sat down with him, and where a beneficial conversation took place. The pernicious mischief-makers, as soon as they witnessed this conversation, fled away to every corner, so that they could not be discovered even by search being made. Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk said, "Their report is not on this ground (alone) falsified."[5] After much talk and conversation the *Shaikh* asked "What was the real motive for summoning us religious mendicants?" Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk replied, "I heard that your disciples, when performing the religious exercise of *ẓikr*, said 'O Dā'ūd, O Dā'ūd!'" The *Shaikh* replied "There has probably been some mistake in hearing, owing to a similarity of sounds, or else my followers must have said 'O *Wadūd*, O *Wadūd*!'"[6] In connection with this matter the *Shaikh* remained for a whole day, or a whole night,[7]

1 *Vide* Badāonī, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 513–525. The "men of God" referred to seem to have been the *Mahdawis*.

2 سلیم MS. (A). The text has the corrupted form اسلیم.

3 تمام omitted in MS. (B). The text rightly follows MS. (A).

4 The text has بتعظم و احترام, erroneously. Both MSS. read بتعظیم و احترام.

5 ازین روی دروغ نیاید. MS. (A) has نباید. The text rightly follows MS. (B).

6 Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk accused Shaikh Dā'ūd of permitting his disciples to address their *ẓikr* (*vide* Hughes' "Dict. of Islam," s. *v.*), directly to him (Dā'ūd) instead of to God. Dā'ud rebuts the accusation by asserting that the words actually used, which might conceivably have been mistaken for "O, Dā'ūd!" were "O, Wadūd!" *i.e.*, "O, God!" ودود means "loving." الملک الودود "the loving King" is one of the titles of God.

7 یک روز یا مخدوم الملک یا یک شب بودهٔ. The editor of the text appears to be doubtful as to the meaning of the words یا یک شب, for he finds it necessary to explain in an apologetic footnote that this is the reading of each of the three MSS. to which he had access. It seems to me that the author means to say that Dā'ūd spent about twelve hours with Makhdumu-'l-Mulk, and that he (the author) cannot say whether the conference began in the morning or in the evening.

bestowing on him sublime exhortations and advice, and imparting to him precious knowledge and facts relating to God.[1] Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk was much affected and dismissed the Shaikh from that place with honour.

On one occasion the austerity and piety of Miyāñ Ḥisāmu-'d-dīn of Ṭalamba,[2] may God have mercy upon him! (some of whose glorious attributes are mentioned in the *Najātu-'r-Rashīd*) happened to be the subject of conversation in the noble assembly of the Shaikh, and he said "Ah, what a pity was it that the *Miyāñ* failed in personal desire of and love for God, and was the slave of mere morality:—

Hemistich.

"Thou hast kept one thing, and (many) things are lost to thee."
"Beware, at the last,[3] from whom thou remainest apart."[4]

The liberality and charity of the Shaikh's disposition were such
33. that on certain fixed occasions,[5] either once or twice in the year, he scattered abroad in promiscuous charity[6] all the money and goods that he had received gratuitously, and he and his chaste wife kept nothing in the cell that was their dwelling but an earthen pot and a piece of old matting, and when he saw that his treasure-chest was full he would again in the same manner disburse its contents in promiscuous charity,[7] and notwithstanding this (profusion), on the birth-day and feast-day of the holy Ghauṣ-i-A'ẓam (may God be pleased with him!) all the needs[8] of the pilgrims, whether of high or low degree, who, to the number of nearly a hundred thousand souls, more or less, were gathered together, were met by disbursements from the alms-chest of his hospice,

1 معارف و حقائق ارجمند.

2 *Vide suprā*, p. 3, n. 4.

3 MS. (A) has اگر. The text, rightly following MS. (B), reads آخر.

4 MS. (B) omits باز.

5 The text reads در هرچند گاه. Both MSS. read در سر هر چند گاه. MS. (B) adds خود after گاه. This may or may not be an interpolation. It signifies only that the occasions were fixed by the Shaikh himself.

6 بتاراج میدادند "he relinquished to rapine." Both MSS. read, for میدادند, میدادي. I prefer the reading of the text.

7 یغما میفرمودند, "he ordered a raid (to be made)."

8 ما یحتاج الیه. MS. (B) omits الیه.

and that profusion, praise be to God, is still continued, nay rather, is increased many fold. Some of the auspicious utterances of his inspired tongue, the interpreter of divine truths, are as follows[1]:—

"In the name of God, the Director and Guide in the darkness of oceans and deserts." I have many times seen and experienced the efficiency of this holy saying in positions of fear[2] and danger. Another is:—

"Praised be He in respect of Whose Essence our thoughts are bewildered,
"Praised be He in respect of the understanding of Whom our understanding soars."[3]

And there are many other examples of such prayers, praises *zikrs* and choice phrases, and the signet-ring posy of that holy man, composed by himself, was as follows:—

"Dā'ūd has been effaced in name and trace
"For poverty effaces all traces."

When I, the author of these pages, in the time of Bairām Khān, (that best of times, when India was as a bride,[4]) was a student in Āgra, I heard from certain *darvīshes* great reports of the Shaikh's noble and majestic attributes, and from that time forward I sowed 34.
the seed of attachment to and trust in him in the ground of preparation (for meeting him) and was in secret a slave to this desire (of meeting him).

Hemistich.

"Aye, verily[5] doth the ear, in true lovers, outstrip[6] the eye."

1 اینست, omitted in MS. (A).

2 مخاوف. MS. (B) has مخلوقات which does not make sense.

3 Both MSS. read تطهیر, and there is a footnote in the text giving this as the reading of the MSS. It is, however, wrong. The reading of the text (تنطیر) is probably correct, though it is not very good Arabic.

4 Badāonī's abhorrence of the infidelity of Abū-'l-Faẓl and Akbar's later advisers causes him to forget his abhorrence of the *Shī'ah* tenets of Bairām Khān.

5 آري آري. MS. (B) has رای رای, which is nonsense.

6 پیش میشود text. MS. (A) has پیش, which reading I prefer, as it seems to me that میرود would accompany پیش more fitly than میشود, I have nevertheless translated the phrase by "outstrip" rather than by "excel." The meaning does not suffer. The reading of MS (B) is not distinct.

And at that very time I repeatedly made attempts to go and pay my respects to that holy man, clothing myself in the pilgrim's garment meet for the circumambulation of that threshold around which the angels do go, and set out[1] for Shīrgarh (with this object). But sometimes my father, who has now obtained pardon and forgiveness of his sins, withstood me and turned me back in the way, and sometimes I was let by other hindrances, which were the means of disappointing me of the fruition of that good fortune. A period of twelve years passed over me, thus expectant, before one of the servants of that court, Shaikh Kālū by name, a solitary traveller, who had himself[2] formerly been the means of my secret knowledge of the *Shaikh*, like the *humā*, from hidden regions cast his shadow on Badāon and its environs, and said to me, "Is it not a pity that the holy *Miyāṅ* (Shaikh Dā'ūd) should be in the land of the living and that you should (be content to) rest with hope unfulfilled and should not even once see him?" This soul-subduer kindled a fire in my perplexed soul, and the Most High God provided the means (of the fulfilment of my desire), for Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, in whose[3] personal service I was, went in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā from Kānt u Gūla[4] towards the Panjāb, and the means of attaining that happiness were thus prepared[5] for me, so that, as has been already mentioned,[6] I went to Shīrgarh from Lāhōr, and saw with my own eyes a portion of the (spiritual) beauty of the holy man—and what possessor of beauty can be compared to him? As he smiled and spoke light sparkled from his teeth,[7] a light which illuminated the dark abode of the

[1] The verb شد is omitted in both MSS. and rightly inserted in the text.

[2] The text has همون. Both MSS. read همو, which is correct.

[3] که wrongly omitted in MS. (A).

[4] *Vide* Badāoni, Vol. II (text), p. 153. These events happened in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). Kānt u Gūla (Shāhjahānpūr) was Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān's *jāgīr*.

[5] مهیا گردید MS. (B) has مهیا کردند.

[6] بطوریکه سابقاً تحریر یافت (text). Both MSS. have سابقا. The sense is not affected.

[7] نوری از ثنایای مبارک ایشان صیتافت. The literal translation of this ("a light sparkled from his auspicious incisors") reads so very grotesquely in English that I have softened the expression of Badāoni's almost idolatrous veneration for the *Shaikh*. In plain English the phrase means no more than that the holy man shewed his teeth when he smiled.

heart, and from which the secret of the Countenance of God was manifested. In short for the space of three or four days I acquired some advantage from this transitory life.

Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or a hundred, more or less (on each day), did not come with their families and kindred to pay their respects to that holy man, receiving the high honour of conversion to Islām, and obtaining 35.
instruction in the faith.[1] I found the gates and walls and trees and dwellings of that delectable town filled with the sound of the telling of rosaries and the reciting of God's praises, and the *Shaikh* bestowed on me his auspicious cap, saying,[2] "Be[3] thou my deputy to thine own people, for (thus to appoint a deputy) is my wont," and he sent a kerchief and a veil from his chaste wife[4] to my wives[5] and children, and when I made a representation to him, saying, "If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light." After some reflection he said "That also will arrive in due time." Having disclosed to him some of the secrets of my heart and my designs and intentions, I endeavoured to obtain leave to depart. At this point[6] that holy man left his *masjid* in his closed travelling litter, owing to his great weakness, and set out for my first halting-place. I, taking the pole of the litter on my shoulder, walked for some paces with it. While I was thus employed a powerful fit of weeping overcame me, and the *Shaikh*, stopping the litter, said, "Put me down." He alighted, and sat down, and spoke so much of the knowledge and love of God, the Most High, that my agitation re-doubled. One day, at the time of

[1] Badāoni's enthusiasm probably leads him into some exaggeration here. Taking the number "fifty or a hundred" to be about seventy-five, and supposing that these conversions were made on two hundred days in each year—a very mild rendering of the author's statement—we should have a result of 15,000 converts *per annum*.

[2] The text rightly follows MS. (B) with فرمودة MS. (A) has فرمودة, which is incorrect.

[3] MS. (B) incorrectly omits the word باش.

[4] *Lit.* "the folk of the house of purity," a circumlocution in strict accordance with Muslim etiquette.

[5] The text reads متعلقان. Both MSS. have متعلقات, which I prefer.

[6] در این میان. MS. (B) has در ینمینا, a mis spelling due to the employment, in speaking, of the غنهٔ هندی.

leave-taking, I represented, through Mīyāṅ 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, one of the *Shaikh's* sincere companions, (to whom is applicable the text), "Blessedness awaiteth them and a goodly home,"[1] that a report was current among the holy men of Hindustān that the time for the rising of a religious leader was at hand, that most of that body, (*i.e.*, the holy men,) concurred in fixing on one of the Sayyids of that country, whose ancestors had formerly been seated on the throne of empire in Dihlī and Badāon for some time,[2] that they were engaged in making preparations for a holy war and in collecting arms,[3] that they professed to have received directions[4] from the holy Ghauṣ-i-A'ẓam[5] (may God be pleased with him!) to engage in this affair, and that they had implicated with themselves some of the *Amīrs* on the frontier, and that some of them professed to have received supernatural encouragement during their assemblies and when they were in difficulties, and purposed to bring the object of their desire to an issue. The *Shaikh* asked me, "What
36. is that *Sayyid's* mode of life, and condition?" I said "He is a man who lives a retired life, in holy poverty,[6] conformably to the sacred law, a recluse and an ascetic who has resigned himself to God, passing most of his days among the tombs (of holy men) and his nights in his cell in worship and submission to God, but he is a

1 طُوبَىٰ لَهُمْ وَحُسْنُ مَآبٍ. *Qur'ān* XIII. 28.

2 This was evidently a descendant of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khiẓr Khān, the last Emperor of the Sayyid dynasty. *Vide* Badāonī, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 400–402. This dynasty was not exterminated as was the usual custom when an usurpation of the throne took place, but the last Emperor was, in accordance with his own request, permitted by Buhlūl Lōdī, the usurper, to retire to Badāon. It seems that Badāonī himself, disgusted with the fashionable infidelity, favoured the claims of this pretended *Mahdī*.

3 و omitted in MS (B).

4 ما موریم. MS (B) has ما ماریم, which is nonsense.

5 *Vide suprā* for the biography of Ghauṣ-i-A'ẓam. MS. (B) has the Arabic form Ghauthu-'l-A'ẓham.

6 The text here has the particle و, which is in neither MS. Its interpolation is unidiomatic.

man of good family,[1] unrivalled and incomparable in his knowledge of the military art, of excellent moral character and following a most worthy mode of life." The *Shaikh* said "The members of that body (*i.e.*, the holy men), are no true *darvīshes*, in that they so traduce the holy Ghauṣ,[2] and do him violence now that he can no longer help himself,[3] and those spiritual encouragements and signs are all part of the delusions of Satan, for how could the holy Ghauṣ (may God be pleased with him!) countenance such matters as this, he whose rule it always was that the people should expel the love of the world from their hearts, and, in all candour and sincerity, should set their faces towards the love of God, the Most High, abandoning vain desires and lusts, and not that one should turn aside from the path of worship, asceticism and holy endeavour to fall again into the net of the world, which is the enemy of God? Say to that *Sayyid* from me, "May God the Most High vouchsafe to you grace to stand fast in the path which you hold. If the least suspicion of any desire for evanescent delights remains (in your heart), it behoves you to strive to overcome it, and not to be beguiled by the impostures and misrepresentations of a bewildered band of know-nothings,[4] thereby straying from the path. Though the lover of the world should attain to kingship,—the supreme object of worldly men, and the seeker after the (sensual) joys of paradise[5] should reach the rewards bestowed by the Everlasting God, that is, the maidens and mansions[6] of the next world, and

1 قبیلہ دار. Possibly "a married man with a family," but I prefer the translation which I have given, on account of what follows. The assertion that the religious Sayyid was a married man would make the statement that he was acquainted with the art of war a *non sequitur*. The assertion that he is of imperial descent gives a reason for his knowledge of that art.

2 The text here inserts رضی اللہ عنہ. These words are in neither MS. and I have omitted them.

3 و راہ آن بیچارہ میزنند *lit.* "commit highway robbery on that helpless one." *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

4 جمع پریشان نادان. The paradox contained in the expression cannot well be expressed in English.

5 طالب آخرت. (B) has آخر, evidently a copyist's error. The context clearly shews that this expression is used here for one who is religious solely for the purpose of attaining to the sensual joys promised to good Muslims in the next world.

6 The text has حور قصور. Both MSS. have the conjunction و, which the sense requires.

the lover of God[1] should die of grief from the utter hopelessness of attaining his object, yet is the disappointment of this last a thousand-fold[2] better and more happy than the fruition and
37. attainment of desire experienced by the former two classes of poor-spirited men." And the *Shaikh*, speaking on this subject, scattered amongst us so many jewels of profitable advice that pearl-like tears began to fall from the eyes of those that heard him, upon the skirts of their robes, and, that (worldly) object being forgotten, we were thrown into quite a different frame of mind, one above description, and[3] in that state of burning anguish I bade the *Shaikh* adieu, uttering cries of grief.

"My heart, in the hope that one cry might perchance reach thee,
"Has uttered in this mountain lamentations such as were never uttered by Farhād."

And since the roads between Lāhōr and Shīrgarh were, in consequence of the rebellion[4] of the *Ulugh Baigī Mīrzās*,[5] closed, both at the time of my going to Shīrgarh and at the time of my return, and as I was alone, the *Shaikh* gave me an attendant as a guide, who was to take me to Shaikh Abū Isḥāq-i-Mihrang in Lāhōr,[6] one of the most noted of the holy man's deputies, in order that he might arrange to send me with a caravan to the army of Ḥusain Khān, which had come to Lāhōr from Ṭalamba, and was to proceed thence to Kānt-u-Gūla. "When I reached Lāhōr I set out for Hindustān with Ḥusain Khān's men." I was

[1] *I.e.*, he who loves God for His own sake, irrespective of any hope of reward. *Cf.* S. Francis Xavier's hymn, "O Deus, ego amo te!"

[2] هزاربار. Both MSS. have هزار هزار. The reading of the text appears to me to be preferable.

[3] The text omits و, though both MSS. have it.

[4] فتدرات. (B) has قراءت, which makes nonsense.

[5] I understand this phrase to mean the Mīrzās who were, with their relative Ulugh Mīrzā (not Ulugh Baig Mīrzā, who was a younger brother of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā and uncle of Bābar) in rebellion.

[6] His biography is given on p. 48 (text) of this volume, but no reference is made to the title مهرنگ. In the reading I follow MS. (A). The text and MS. (B) have میهرنگ. The *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta text I. 233) reads قُرنگ.

sitting one day at our halting-place at Sahāranpūr[1] in a garden, consumed with grief at my separation from that holy man, when a traveller brought to me a *Qādirī*[2] shirt, which he had in his hand, saying, "Take this, which I received from the hand of a venerable saint, and give me something to help me on my way."[3] When I questioned him as to the truth of the matter he said "When Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain met with that mischance[4] I, with a party of his troops, overwhelmed with misfortune and a prey to plunderers, arrived stripped and naked at Shīrgarh, where we attached ourselves to the holy saint, our helper, and he gave something to each of us. When my turn came round he took this 38
shirt off his blessed body, and bestowed it upon me. I, thinking that it would be irreverent to wear it, deposited it in safe custody, with a view to taking it away to some place as a rare gift; and now I leave it with you." I received from him that mysteriously conveyed gift, that treasure wafted to me by the wind, as though it had been a blessing and benediction.

Verses.

The perfume of thy shirt has reached me,
My soul was ravished by that sweet odour.
I had offered a *fātiḥah*[5] for union with thee,
Praise be to God that my *fātiḥah* was accepted.

And, remembering the word that he had spoken, I regarded this occurrence as a miracle,[6] and I now preserve that Joseph's coat[7] as I preserve my life—and praise be to God for all this!

[1] The chief town of the *Sarkar* of the same name in the *Ṣuba* of Dilhī. Now the headquarters of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P.

[2] This expression seems to have puzzled the editor of the text, for he appends a footnote stating that it occurs in all the three MSS. to which he had access. The *Qādirī* shirt was probably a shirt of a distinctive pattern or cut, worn by the *Qādirīyyah* order of ascetics, founded by Shaikh Dā'ud.

[3] پارهٔ خرج راه. Both MSS. have, wrongly, خرجي راه.

[4] *Scil.* when his army was defeated at Ṭalamba. *Vide* Badāonī, text, vol. II., pp. 157, 158.

[5] A prayer for the attainment of an object, the recitation of the فاتحه or first chapter of the *Qur'ān* being part of the exercise

[6] It is quite possible that the soldier may have been instructed by Shaikh Dā'ud to deliver the shirt to Badāonī, without mentioning that he was merely a messenger.

[7] *Lit.* "Joseph's shirt." The reference is obvious.

Verses.

And as I have been the companion of desire for his excellency
From the cradle, I hope that (that desire) will continue to the grave.

Verses.

Desire for thee within my mind, and love for thee within my heart,
Did enter me with mother's milk, and with my life will leave me.

The following is a brief account of that holy man. He was the cynosure [1] of his time, an inspired prophet, and a worker of wonders and manifest miracles, giving clear proofs of his sanctity.[2] He had undergone severe discipline [3] and in holy endeavour had striven much. In early life [4] he acquired exoteric knowledge and had also been engaged in teaching. He had resigned himself to God and lived an eremite, going never to the houses of worldly men but once, when in obedience to the (royal) command he went from Shīrgaṛh to Gwāliyār to see Salīm Shāh,[5] and although the *Khalīfah* of the age,[6] when he was proceeding to Patan sent Shahbāz Khān [7] to summon the *Shaikh* to bestow on him the honour of a visit, the *Shaikh* made his excuses, saying,
39. "My secret prayers are sufficient." He avoided to the utmost of his power the companionship of the lords of the earth,

[1] قطب, literally "the pole-star," "the pivot on which everything turns, or the point of attraction." "Cynosure," as used by Milton, fairly represents the sense in English.

[2] The text has حجج. MS. (B) has حج, and MS. (A) has حج, which has been altered to حجج. حجج is without doubt the true reading.

[3] The text follows MS. (A) with وياضات. (B) has وباضت.

[4] بدايت—Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has هدايت, which is wrong.

[5] *Vide suprā*, p. 53, n. 2. The text has the corrupted form اسليم, also the MSS.

[6] *Scil.* the Emperor Akbar, who went to Gujarāt in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

[7] Shahbāz Khān-i-Kambū. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann's) 399. Shahbāz Khān was probably selected for the mission as being, himself, of a holy family.

investing himself with the cloak of "Poverty is my glory." [1] He was constant in almsgiving, and in pointing out to searchers after truth the path of holiness, and whosoever was so aided by fortune as to be led to the *Shaikh* received great profit from the precious utterances of that blessing of the age and cynosure [2] of the world. In the year H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) his tent was pitched under the curtain of the Majesty of God the Most High, and in the Court of union with Him, may His glory be exalted! The words "Ah, Shaikh Dā'ūd the Saint!" [3] were found to give the date (of his death). May God bestow upon him His boundless mercy, and raise us with him in that hour when all shall be gathered together.[4]

XVII. Shaikh [5] Aban of Amroha.[6]

He was a traveller in the path (of righteousness) and was mysteriously attracted (by the love of God), but notwithstanding this he neglected not one jōt of the observances of the pure Law.[7] Many miracles are related as having been performed

[1] A saying of Muḥammad. It is related that a beggar came to Muḥammad complaining that he was poor. Muḥammad replied "Poverty is my glory." Shortly afterwards a second beggar approached with the same complaint. Muḥammad replied, "Poverty is disgrace both in this world and the next." On being asked by his companions how these two apparently contradictory sayings could be reconciled, he said, "Did ye not see that the first man had forsaken the world, while the second had been forsaken by the world?"

[2] قبلة, the point towards which all face in prayer. "Cynosure" does not literally translate either قبلة or قطب (*vide suprā*) but it is the nearest word we have in English to these words in the sense in which they occur in the text.

[3] يا شيخ داود ولي. 10+1+300+10+600+4+1+6+4+6+30+10=982.

[4] For another account of Badāonī's visit to this saint *vide* Badāonī, vol. II. (text), pp. 156, 157. Ḥusain Khān, Badāonī's patron, also visited him about the same time, *vide* Badaoni II., 156.

[5] A footnote in the text gives "*Sayyid*" as a variant, but both MSS. have "*Shaikh*."

[6] A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sambhal, Ṣūba Dilhi. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbari*, vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), 289.

[7] That is to say that the *Shaikh*, though a *Ṣufī*, observed the ceremonial and ritual law. This is mentioned as something uncommon, for *Ṣūfīs* believe that their supposed close union with God absolves them from the obligation of such observances.

by him. He lived and received disciples without pomp or ceremony. When I after waiting upon the holy Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd [1] (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!) was returning from the Panjāb and travelled to Badāon by way of Amroha, I paid my respects to the *Sayyid* already mentioned.[2] He read a verse from the glorious word (of God), and delivered an address, not on any fixed theme,[3] but now and again he would turn to me and make some remarks on the excellence of the reward and recompense [4] reserved for the long-suffering, and he quoted the blessed text "But good works, which are lasting..." [5] and so on to the end of the verse. And it afterwards [6] became manifest that this was an indication of the occurrence of a calamity which happened to me. The facts were briefly thus: I had a daughter,

[1] *Vide suprā*, in the account of Shaikh Dā'ūd's life (No. XVI).

[2] *Scil.* Shaikh Abān. His being here styled "the *Sayyid*" may account for the variant referred to in note 5 on the preceding page.

[3] لا على التعيين, may be translated either as above, or by "not by appointment," which would mean that the discourse was not one of a regular series or delivered at a time when the *Shaikh* was in the habit of delivering an address. The text and MS. (B) have التعيين, MS. (A) has التعين, which is better.

[4] اجر. MS. (B) has اجز, evidently a copyist's error.

[5] These words, وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ occur twice in the *Qur'ān*, once in *Sūrah* XVIII. 44.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمَلًا

"But good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better as to hope."

And in *Surah* XIX. 79.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ مَرَدًّا

"And good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense, and better in the issue (than all worldly possessions)."

It was probably the second of these two texts that the *Shaikh* quoted, for the former is but a portion of a verse, while the latter is a complete verse. There is, however, no real difference between the meanings of the two passages. There is a difference of one word only in the Arabic and this difference in no way alters the sense in either case.

[6] بعد از آن. MS. (A) has بعد از این.

whom I dearly loved, and while I was on this journey [1] she passed away in Badāon from this deceitful world. Probably those consoling subjects were (mentioned) for the comfort of my heart—but God knows all! 40.

The *Shaikh's* death occurred in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579).

XVIII. Khāja 'Abdu-'sh-Shahīd.

He was the orthodox successor of Khājagān [2] Khāja who was the true successor of the holy Khāja-yi-Aḥrār (may God sanctify their souls!). When Khāja 'Abdu-'sh-Shahīd was born he was taken to the holy Khāja-yi-Aḥrār, who took him in his arms and said "He will be a wise man." The revered Khāja was perfect both in outward appearance and in inward qualities.[3] He practised severe austerities,[4] striving much in the path of holiness, and was a compendium of all such perfection as man can attain to. The people acquired grace from the precious utterances of that model of virtuous men, being directed thereby in the path of righteousness and godly living.[5] He walked in the footsteps of the holy Khāja-yi-Aḥrār (may God sanctify his tomb!).

Coming from Samarqand to India he remained here for seventeen years, and in the year H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5) he said, "The time of my departure draws nigh, and I have been commanded to convey this handful of bones, of which I am composed, to the burying place of my ancestors in Samarqand." He then set out for Samarqand, and on his arrival at Kābul it happened that Mirzā Shāh Rukh had just taken the people of Kābul captive, and was returning with them to Badakhshān.[6] By means of the intercession of the Khāja nearly ten thousand persons obtained deliverance from the bonds of tyrants and oppressors. Two or

[1] The particle کہ is wrongly omitted from the text, which follows MS. (B). The reading of MS. (A) is correct.

[2] The text and (B) have خواجکا which makes no sense as a name, unless we take it to be a corruption consequent on the use of the عُنهُ هند. خواجکان is the correct reading, as in MS. (A).

[3] Or, perhaps, "in exoteric and esoteric knowledge."

[4] The text follows MS. (A) with ریاصات. (B) has ریاضت.

[5] The text and MS. (B) have طریقهٔ سلوک. MS. (A) has طریقه و سلوک. The difference does not affect the sense.

[6] Vide "*Ain-i-Akbari*," vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 312.

three days after his arrival in Samarqand he bade farewell to this evanescent world,[1] and was buried beside his noble ancestors. The Khāja's dignity is so high[2] that there is no necessity to attempt to establish it by a recital of the wonders and miracles
41. worked by that essence of perfect qualities. The writer of these lines saw from afar the comliness of the holy Khāja when he came to bid farewell to the *Khalīfah* of the age, on the occasion when the Imperial Camp, at the time of its return from Patna[3] had arrived[4] in the district of Bhūṅgāoṅ and Paṭiyālī[5] but I did not attain to the happiness of attending[6] on him, or to the good fortune of approaching[7] him. The peace of God be upon him and upon[8] his noble ancestors.

XIX. Shaikh Adhan of Jaunpūr.[9]

(On him be God's mercy and acceptance.)

He was the disciple of his own venerable father, Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn, of the *Cishtī*[10] order, who was, in his time, deferred

[1] MS. (B) has for جهان فاني which is correct, جهاني فاني which is altogether incorrect.

[2] MS. (B) has, for عالیتر, عالمتر, which does not make sense.

[3] This is spelt پتنه in both MSS. a spelling which is quite correct in Persian, in which language the letter ت does not exist. The editor of the text has Indianized it into پٹنه.

[4] MS. (A) has رسیدهٔ بود. The text and MS. (B) omit the auxiliary. The reading of MS. (A) is preferable.

[5] Two pargana towns in the *sarkār* of Kanauj, *Ṣūba* Āgra. *Vide* A. A. II. (trans. Jarrett), pp. 184, 185.

[6] ملازمت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

[7] مجاورت. MS. (B) has, instead, محاورت, which would mean "holding converse with." I have adopted the reading of MS. (A), followed in the text, (A) being, in my opinion, a better authority to follow than (B). Apart from the question of authority I see no reason to prefer مجاورت to محاورت.

[8] These words (و علی) are omitted from MS. (B). Their omission destroys the sense.

[9] The principal town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād. It was for a time the capital of a Muḥammadan kingdom. It is now the head-quarters station of the Jaunpūr District, N.-W. P.

[10] This order has been already described.

to[1] by the holy men of the age. He reached the full period of man's natural life,[2] nay, he exceeded it, for his sons, being seventy or eighty years of age, attended him, likewise his grandsons, in their degrees.[3] He spent the best part of his life wholly and completely in worship and in acquiring the knowledge of God.

Although he had acquired much exoteric knowledge, yet he never gave instruction therein. He possessed to the highest degree perception of God, a keen longing after ecstatic songs and dances, and the faculty of being overcome by religious ecstasy.[4] In spite of his bodily feebleness, and constitutional weakness, and the languor which prevailed over all his limbs, which were such that he could hardly arise from his couch[5] to perform the ceremonial ablutions, the prayers and other[6] necessary acts without the assistance of his attendants, yet, whenever he heard the strains[7] of holy song he would arise in ecstasy and would involuntarily[8] join in the dance, with such violence and strength that several persons could not, by their bodily power, restrain him.[9] Similarly in the case of the ritual prayers, he would perform the recitation of the sayings of Muḥammad and the supererogatory prayers[10] in a sitting posture, and after he

[1] مقتدا. *Lit.* "He who is followed." MS. (B) wrongly omits the verb بود.

[2] عمر طبیعی. MS. (A) has, wrongly, عمری طبیعی.

[3] A free translation of بر این قیاس, the meaning of which is clear.

[4] ذوق وسماع وحالت. These *Ṣūfī*-istic terms have already been explained. Vide *Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Sprenger). It is possible that the word ذوق may be used here in its ordinary sense, in which case the words "perception of God" would be omitted from the translation.

[5] محل آرام. "The place where he took his ease.

[6] MS. (B) wrongly inserts the conjunction و here, destroying the sense of the passage.

[7] آواز, for which (B) has, incorrectly, آوازی.

[8] بی طاقتی, a most clumsy phrase, which I cannot believe to be the correct reading, though both MSS., followed by the text, have it. The expression, clumsy and unidiomatic as it is, may have been used ironically, in which case the meaning of the passage would be "He displayed such *weakness* in his caperings that...etc."

[9] MS. (A) omits او.

[10] سنن و نوافل. Exercises not enjoined on all, but practised by such as lay claim to sanctity.

had been lifted up and had been placed in the posture for commencing the ritual prayers[1] he performed them standing, without any need of help. And it is matter of common notoriety that miracles, which came as naturally to him as eating and drinking,
42. were performed by him without any ostentation. He left a numerous progeny, of auspicious disposition, and his wise sons, gray-bearded men, used to sit on either side of him in his illustrious assembly, for the purpose of receiving instruction, in such numbers that he who entered would be in doubt as to which was the holy *Shaikh* and which were his offspring. He compiled so many treatises of his sayings regarding the divine law, the path of holiness, and the Truth, that they are beyond the reckoning of ordinary people, nay of most of those who are specially endowed,[2] nor can the hand of any imperfect and lewd person even touch the skirt of the interpreter of those divine secrets.

The following fact (also) gave rise to suspicion, namely, that when the *Khalīfah* of the Age led his forces on the second occasion against Jaunpūr,[3] with a view to repelling and overthrowing his enemies, and there yet remained a three days' journey between the Imperial camp and Jaunpūr, the *Shaikh* died in the city,[4] drawing over the face of his existence the veil of concealment from this transitory world, and becoming thereby the verifier of (the text):—"Nay, rather, they are living in the sight of their Lord."[5]

The writer of these pages never had the honour of waiting upon that pattern for the world.[6]

1 حریصهٔ می بست.

2 خواص. Badāonī is evidently referring to those learned in theological bibliography.

3 The expedition against Jaunpūr in 968 A.H. (A.D. 1561) must be the one referred to here. The date does not coincide with the date of the *Shaikh*'s death, and I am unable to account for the discrepancy. I can find no mention of an expedition against Jaunpūr in A.H. 970. *Vide* Badāonī II. (text), 48, 49.

4 بلدهٔ مذکور. MS. (A) has بلدهٔ مذکوره, which is more elegant.

5 *Qur'ān* iii. 163. The whole verse:—

وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ -

"And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead: Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for."

6 آفاق. *Lit.* "horizons."

His death occurred in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3) and the words "Shaikh Adhan"[1] were found to give the date of his death.

XX. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghafūr of A'ẓampūr.

A'ẓampūr[2] is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. The *Shaikh* was the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs, of the *Cishtī* order.[3] He was perfect both in form and in inward qualities. He underwent severe discipline and strove[4] much in the way of holy endeavour. Divine grace was his companion in the following of the footsteps of the holy seal of prophecy,[5]—may God bless and give peace to him and his family! He used very soon to obtain influence over any one who was thrown into his company, and how little adaptable soever a student might be, the attractions of the *Shaikh* would carry him beyond himself and would make him, even against his will,[6] inclined to the *Shaikh's* service.

The *Shaikh* spent most of his time in giving instruction in religious knowledge. His eloquent words were peace to the turbulent heart, and his wonder working tongue balm to the
43. longing soul. In beauty of form and sweetness of disposition he was chief among his contemporaries. He received disciples and exhorted and advised the people. He wrote treatises on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*. In truth there can be no manner of doubt as to the *Shaikh's* perfections of body and mind. After planting his footsteps within the circumference of (what is understood by the saying) "Octogenarians are God's own freed men,"[7] he took his departure, in the course of the year H. 985

1 300+10+600+1+4+5+50=970.

2 Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 289.

3 A short account of this order has already been given.

4 MS. (B) wrongly omits the word کرد here.

5 *I.e.*, Muḥammad, styled "the seal of the prophets" as being the last to whom a divine revelation is to be entrusted. The expression خاتمی پناه cannot be literally translated into English. It signifies "one in whom the sealing, or completion of prophecy finds its refuge"—a clumsy phrase in English but very concise and expressive in Persian.

6 بی اختیار.

7 That is, freed from sin. This is one of the "sayings" of Muḥammad.

(A.D. 1577-8) for the eternal mansions, and was buried in A'ẓampūr. May God magnify his dignity!

XXI. Miyāñ Vajīhu-'d-dīn of Aḥmadābād.[1]

He was descended[2] of the line of 'Alī, but he was not wont to proclaim his descent, on account of his being a foreigner.[3] He was one of the greatest of the learned men of the age, excelling in devotion, piety, and holy endeavour,[4] turning not aside from the path of the law, and, firmly seated in the corner of contentment, was constantly occupied in giving religious[5] instruction. His grasp of all branches of knowledge, both of those which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty and of those which depend upon the memory,[6] was such that there was hardly a standard work, from light treatises on accidence[7] to books of law and medicine and the commentary on the *Miftāḥ*[8] and the *'Aẓudī*[9]

1 The capital of Gujarāt.

2 نسب. Both MSS. have نسبت, but the emendation in the text appears to be correct. If the reading of the MSS. be correct then we have an additional reason for the *Miyāñ's* refusal to claim descent from 'Alī. *Vide* the following note.

3 So I understand بجهت غرابت. The meaning seems to be that the *Shaikh's* ancestors had so long ago left Arabia that he wisely refrained from claiming a descent which was perhaps not borne out by documentary evidence and was not likely to be generally accepted. It may be that the *Miyāñ's* descent was in the female line, in which case he would not rank as a *Sayyid*.

4 MS. (B) has مجاهده for مجاهده. This is clearly a copyist's error.

5 ديني, in neither MS. I am not aware of the authority for its insertion in the text, but it seems to me to be correct.

6 علوم عقلي و نقلي. The Persian phrase cannot be neatly and concisely translated into English.

7 صرف هوائي. This expression has puzzled me and the translation is conjectural. I have consulted learned Persians and natives of India on the subject. Shamsu-'l-'Ulamā Shaikh Mahmūd-i-Gīlānī suggests صرف نوائي, but I can learn of no book with this title. I am of opinion that the reading of the text and MSS. is certainly wrong.

8 *Miftāḥu-'l-'Ulūm* (clavis doctrinarum). *Vide* Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), 428, note 2.

9 El-Adhodi, liber *Adhodi* grammaticus, quem Imām *Abu Alī* (Hasan Ber Ahmed) Fārisi Grammaticus, anno [377 (inc. 3. Mai. 987)] mortuus, principi *Adhod-ed-dewlet* composuit. H.K. 8158.

which he had not either written a commentary on or annotated, and the people were continually profited by his auspicious sayings. God, may He be praised, is known by his epithet, "the Healer," and He made the *Miyāñ* a manifestation of that name, so that every day the sick and afflicted, in countless numbers,[1] used to wait upon him and beseech him to pray for them, and would speedily experience the effects of that prayer. He never went of his own accord to the houses of worldly men, but only once or twice in the course of his life, and then in obedience to a summons, and unwillingly.[2] He did not even leave[3] his house and private *masjid* for the Friday congregational prayers.

His house was the resort of the greatest and best men of the age. In his dress and mode of life he was in no way distinguished from the common people, and contented himself with coarse raiment, distributing in charity whatever he received by way of alms.

He received his religious instruction from Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ[4] and followed his rule, although he had been the accredited disciple of another. He completed his studies with the *Shaikh*, drinking deeply and with relish of the fount of *Ṣūfī*-ism. **44.**

When Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ went from Hindūstān to Gujarāt, in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt,[5] Shaikh 'Alī Mutaqqī,[6] one of the greatest *Shaikhs*, most influential religious leaders and greatest sages of that time, wrote a *fatwā*[7]

1 The text has لا تعد ولا تحصى, making جمع feminine. The reading of the MSS. لا يعد ولا يحصى is correct.

2 MS. (A) has و after اكراها. The text (B) omit it.

3 قدم از.....نماندة. نماندة is the reading of both MSS. and of the text. It does not make sense, and seems to me to be a copyist's error for ننهادة. As such I have treated it. MS. (B) has قدوم for قدم. The latter is correct. The fact here stated is mentioned to shew the *Miyāñ's* great dislike of publicity. According to the Muḥammadan ritual law the Friday prayers should be recited in the congregation, *i.e.*, in the public *masjid*.

4 No. III. *suprā*.

5 *I.e.*, during the reign of Shīr Shāh in Dihlī. It was in consequence of Shīr Shāh's ill-treatment of him that Muḥammad Ghauṣ fled to Gujarat. *Vide suprā*, in the account of Muhammad Ghaus, No. III.

6 MS. (B) wrongly reads ميقي for متقي.

A legal decision delivered by a recognized doctor of the law on any point of the Muḥammadan ritual or religious law. The *fatwā* in this case would probably declare that Muḥammad Ghauṣ was worthy of death as a heretic, the execution of the sentence being left to the secular power.

for the execution of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and the Sulṭān abrogated it[1] at the instance[2] of Miyāṅ Vajīhu-'d-Dīn. When Miyāṅ Vajīhu-'d-Dīn went on the first occasion to the *Shaikh's* house he was powerfully attracted by his face, and tore up the *fatwā*,[3] and Shaikh 'Alī came, beside himself (with rage), to the *Miyāṅ's* house, and rent his clothes and said, "Why do you assent to the spread of heresy, and to a schism in the faith?"[4] He answered, "We follow the letter and the *Shaikh* the spirit.[5] Our understanding cannot reach his perfections and (even), as far as the letter of the law[6] goes, no exception, by which he could be pronounced blameworthy, can be taken[7] to him." And this was the cause of the great faith which the *Sulṭāns* and rulers of Gujarāt had in Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and of his deliverance from that position of peril. (The *Miyāṅ*) from that time repeatedly said in assemblies, "one ought to obey the letter of the law after the manner of Shaikh 'Alī Mutaqqī,[8] and the spirit[9] after the manner of my spiritual guide" (*i.e.*, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ.) Miyāṅ Vajīhu-'d-Dīn passed away from this abode of gloom in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) and the words "Shaikh

1 *I.e.*, refused to carry it out.

2 *Lit.* "on the signature of." Vajīhu-'d-dīn probably delivered his authoritative opinion or *fatwā*, under his signature, declaring that Muḥammad Ghauṣ was not worthy of death.

3 This seems to be the meaning of استفتا, as here used, but the word means literally "applying for a *fatwā*," or "asking for legal opinion." The textual reading is evidently correct, though the readings of the MS. are not very clear.

4 MS. (B) inserts خود after دین, erroneously, as it seems to me.

5 *Lit.* "We are masters of speech (*scil.* religious discussion, or more probably recitation of the ritual prayers) and he is master of religious ecstasy." The translation well expresses the meaning of the phrase.

6 ظاهر شریعت.

7 نمیگردد. (B) has, erroneously نمیکرد.

8 MS. (B) omits متقي, and substitutes عقلي for علي. My opinion of this MS. coincides with that expressed by Colonel Ranking in some of the notes to his translation of vol. I. It is evidently the work of an ignorant and careless scribe and is of very little value for purposes of comparison.

9 در حقیقت.

Vajīhu-'d-Dīn"[1] were found to give the date of his death: may God turn him towards acceptance!

I may explain that I never had an opportunity of waiting on these four honourable men, and that what I have written of them is only what I have been able to learn incidentally.[2]

XXII. Miyāṅ 'Abdu-llāh Niyāzī of Sirhind.[3] 45.

The Niyāzīs[4] are a tribe of Afghāns. Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llāh was at first the disciple of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī[5] of Fatḥpūr. He used to remain always engaged in his religious duties in the cell close to the *Shaikh's* new hospice, which is now known as the royal place of worship.[6] When Shaikh Salīm[7] returned from his first pilgrimage to the holy places, which he had made by land, Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llāh asked his leave to make a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the *Shaikh* wrote and gave to him a memorandum containing an account of the *Shaikhs* and men of God whom he had met in the countries of Arabia, Persia, and India, and the *Miyāṅ*, travelling through most of those regions, sought out those various classes of holy men.

1 This would be an exceedingly neat chronogram were it correct, but the sum of the letters is 999, one too many. MS. (A) inserts after the chronogram لي الف لام.

2 استطراد, the meaning of which is given by Steingass as "aiming at one thing and getting another," "incident."

3 The chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name, in the *Ṣūba* of Dilhi. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 281 and n. 4, and p. 295. *Vide* also Hunter's *Imp. Gazetteer*.

4 The Niyāzīs are a clan of the Ghilzais or Ghiljīs. They are principally engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghānistān and the Northern States of Central Asia, and have been so for centuries. *Vide* Bellew's "Races of Afghānistān," p. 103, *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), 483, 484, II. (trans. Jarrett), 393 (n.) and 402 (n.).

5 *Vide suprā* No. VIII. The text and both MSS. have اسليم for سليم. The reading is wrong, for the references in the text clearly shew that it is Shaikh Salīm that is referred to. اسليم is اسلام, corrupted by the figure called امالة.

6 عبادتخانهٔ پادشاهي *Vide* Shaikh Salīm's life, and the notes thereon, for Akbar's reverence for him, and the reason of it. *Vide* also vol. II. (text), 109, 255. *Vide* also *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Lucknow edition, pp. 327, 328.

7 The text has اسيلم a misprint for اسليم, which is itself wrong. *Vide* note 1.

In company with the friends of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad (may God sanctify his soul!) who had[1] set up a claim to being the *Mahdī* and[1] had travelled to Gujarāt and the Dakhan, the *Miyāṅ* at last adopted those opinions,[2] and in the reign of Salīm Shāh, spent his time, in the manner already mentioned,[3] in Biyāna, in the corner of obscurity and retirement, living without pretensions and without ceremony, being, like ordinary men, free from encumbrances and attachments. And when Islem (Salīm) Shāh, as has been mentioned in the case of Shaikh 'Alā'ī of Biyāna—may God have mercy upon him!—bitterly persecuted him, being prompted thereto by Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, and had him severely beaten, with a view to preventing him (from preaching his doctrines),[4] he again set forth on his wanderings, travelling in various parts of the world, and in the latter years of his life he abandoned (his belief in Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's) claim to being the *Mahdī*, and, retreating[5] into a corner of retirement in Sirhind, followed the same mode of life as other holy men. When the Emperor rebuilt that cell which was near the Imperial palace he named it the '*ibādat-khāna* (place of worship), and, the name of Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llāh being mentioned in connection with it, he was summoned from Sirhind, and had a personal interview with the Emperor, no other person being present, and
46. His Majesty put questions to him.[6] The *Miyāṅ*, disavowing (any belief in) the *Mahdawī* doctrines, said, "At first the companionship of that sect seemed good to me, and I accordingly inclined to their doctrines, but after that the truth concerning

[1] The words بود و are wrongly omitted from MS. (B). This MS. also has در گجرات for بگجرات.

[2] *I.e.*, the opinions of those who believed Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad to be the *Mahdī*. The words are همان طریقه, for which MS. (B) has مهمان طریقه, which is pure nonsense.

[3] *Vide* vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 518–520 for an account of the persecution of *Miyāṅ* (or *Shaikh*, as he is there called) 'Abdu-'llāh by Salīm Shāh, at the instigation of Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk.

[4] *Vide* the reference in the last note for an account of the persecution of the *Mahdawīs* by Salīm Shāh.

[5] *Lit.* "choosing."

[6] خبرها پرسیدند. MS. (B) has چیزها. The dots in MS. (A) are placed at random, but the word there seems to be چیزها.

the True God was revealed to me, and I recanted." His Majesty sent him back with honour, and in the year H. 993 (A.D. 1585) at the time of the expedition to Ātak,[1] when His Majesty reached Sirhind, he again sent for the *Miyāṅ*, and offered him some land as *madad-i-ma'āsh*,[2] but he, making contentment his title-deed,[3] would not accept it, but the Emperor had the grant made out, whether the *Miyāṅ* would or no, and had it delivered to him, and he, obeying the Emperor's order, received the *farmān*, but nevertheless forsook not his habit of relying on God alone, and did not in any way concern himself with the grant throughout his life. He made the books *Iḥyā*[4] and *Kīmiyā*[5] the guides of his actions. In the year in which Ulugh Mīrzā's rebellion took place I was with Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān. I saw the *Miyāṅ* in Sirhind, and he gave me some profitable lessons from[6] the *Iḥyā*, which he had with him.[7] A friend of his, named Maḥmūd Khān, who had been intimate with him since the days of Islem (Salīm) Shāh, and to whom Shaikh Mubārak, at the time of the persecution[8] of Shaikh 'Alā'ī had given the title of Saifu-'llāh ("the sword of God"), asked him, "What is the heart?"[9]

[1] *Vide* vol. II. (text), pp. 347 *et seqq.* Also *Akbarnama* (text), III. 465 *et seqq.*

[2] *I.e.*, land to be held in *aima* tenure, for his subsistence.

[3] *I.e.*, "to what he had," and no more.

[4] This book was the *Iḥyā'u 'Ulūmi-'d-dīn*. "Ihyā olum ed-dīn, doctrinarum religionis vivificatio, auctore Imam Shafiita *Hojjat el-islām Abu Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazāli*, mortuo in urbe *Tus* anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111)." H.K. No. 171, where a full account of the book is given.

[5] The *Kīmiya'u-'s-sa'ādat*. "Kímiyá el-seádet, alchymia beatitudinis. Opus Persicum paraeneticum et ethicum, quod Imām Hojjet el-islām Abu Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazáli, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuus, composuit, et in quatuor titulos et quatuor fulcimenta, ut in praefatione dicit, in usum multitudinis hominum qui talia desiderant, distribuit." H.K. No. 10,998, where a full account of the book is given.

[6] MS. (B) wrongly omits از.

[7] The text here has و, which is in neither MS. Its insertion does not affect the sense.

[8] کشاکش "attraction" or "disturbance." "Persecution" is the best translation in this passage.

[9] Maḥmūd Khān was asking for enlightenment on one of the subtleties of the *Ṣūfīs*. In order that his question may be understood it is necessary to know how the *Ṣūfīs* defined the Persian word دل, of which the Arabic synonym is قلب. The *Iṣṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (Sprenger) gives the following

He replied, "Between us and the heart lie a thousand stages. Why do you ask about this matter? Say something on ethics." Afterwards, *à propos* of the mention of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his soul!) he brought forward an old Mughal and asked him to say what he knew of the *Sayyid*.[1] He said, "At the time of the death of the holy Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr I was present in Farāh,[2] when he

definition, *s.v.* القلب. "The heart is an enlightened incorporeal essence, the mean between the *rūḥ* and the *nafs*." The words روح (*rūḥ*) and نفس (*nafs*) both mean soul, and are sometimes considered synonymous one with the other. But according to other authorities روح signifies "that whereby is life" and نفس "that whereby is intellect, or reason," *e.g.*, when one sleeps God takes away his نفس, but not his روح, which is not taken save at death; and the نفس is thus called because of its connection with the نَفَس, or "breath." (*Vide* Lane, Arabic Lexicon, *sub vocibus*). But it is not clear that the connection between نَفَس and نَفَس is very close, for, if it were, one could hardly be deprived of his نَفَس during sleep. But see also the *Iṭṭilāḥātu-'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah sub vocibus* النفس and الروح. The former is thus defined:—

"*An-nafs* is the fine ethereal essence which supports life, sensation, and voluntary motion. And the philosopher (*scil.* Aristotle) has called it the animal soul, and it is the mean between the heart, which is the reasoning faculty, and the body, which is referred to in the *Qur'ān* as "the olive tree," which is described as being "blessed, neither of the east nor of the west," on account of the increase of dignity and blessedness which it confers on man, and because it is neither from the east, the world of disembodied spirits, nor from the west, the world of gross bodies."

الروح is thus described:—

"*Ar-rūḥ* in the technical language of the *Ṣūfīs* is the fine and incorporeal part of man; and in the technical language of physicians it is the fine vapour bred in the heart, which receives the effect of life, sensation, and motion, and these collectively are called, in their technical language *an-nafs*, and the mean between them is the heart, which conceives general conceptions and their details. Philosophers make no distinction between *qalb* and *rūḥu-'l-awwal* ("first soul") which they describe as the reasoning faculty." It is easy to understand Miyāṅ 'Abdu-llāh's anxiety to avoid the discussion of a question of this sort, and to take refuge in some ethical, or indeed, any other question, in order to escape from it.

1 ازوی شهادت خواست. *Lit.* "asked him for his testimony."

2 A town in Sījistan, vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), 41n. II. (trans. Jarrett), 393, and note.

withdrew his claim to being the *Mahdī*, and said, 'I am not the promised *Mahdī*.'"[1] God knows (the truth). In the meantime Maḥmūd Khān said softly "Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llāh did wonderfully well in sending the unfortunate Shaikh 'Alā'ī to his death, while he himself retraced his steps."[2]

Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llāh removed the baggage (of existence) from this borrowed[3] lodging to the neighbourhood of Divine Providence (may his dignity be honoured!) at the age of 90, in the year H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2). May God grant him a dwelling in the highest heaven! 47

XXIII. Shaikh Abū-'l-Fath of Gujarāt.

He was the son-in-law of the reverend Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), but he never saw the *Mīr*[5] and his connection with him by marriage did not occur until after the *Mīr's* death. He was a man of very high position and dignity, endowed with perfections. He was firm and unshaken in his adherence to the doctrines of the *Mahdawī* sect, holding to them resolutely, since, when he was in the honoured city of Makkah and in Gujarāt, the closest bond of friendship existed between him and Shaikh Gadā'ī.[6] In the time of Bairām Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān,[7] he came to Āgra in

1 Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'llah evidently brought forward this old Mughal, with his "testimony," to justify his secession from the *Mahdawī* sect, by proving that Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad himself before his death relinquished his pretensions to being the *Mahdī*. Badāonī, who inclined towards the *Mahdawī* doctrines, seems by his use of the expression و الله اعلم to have disbelieved the Mughal's testimony, or, at any rate, to have regarded it as doubtful. The necessity for some justification of Miyāṅ 'Abdu-llāh's change of views is shewn by Maḥmūd Khān's comment on his conduct, which immediately follows.

2 *Lit.* "withdrew his steps from the circle."

3 *I.e.*, this lodging which is given us only for a time, or, as it were, on loan.

4 Here both MSS. have "Maḥmud." The textual emendation is correct.

5 The text follows MS. (B) with میرزا. The reading of MS. (A) which I have followed, is correct. "*Mīr*" was one of M. Muḥammad's titles as a *Sayyid*. The title *Mīrzā* is in India almost exclusively bestowed upon *Mughals*.

6 Shaikh Gadā'ī-yi-Kambū of Dilhī, the Ṣadru-'ṣ-Ṣudūr, *vide* vol. II. text, pp. 29, 30, *et infra* chapter ii., No. IV.

7 *Vide* vol. II. text, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, and *Akbarnāma passim*.

connection with some important business, but in a short time that terrible disaster [1] occurred, and the *Shaikh* returned to Gujarāt. When I was a student I waited on the *Shaikh* for half a night in the quarter of Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn Muftī (may God have mercy on him!), on the far side [2] of the river at Āgra, on the introduction of Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh of Qandahār, the relative of Ḥājī Mahdī of Lāhōr. He was sitting alone in a bare room, busily employed in reading [3] this tradition of the prophet, (may God bless him and save him!):—"No number of people shall sit together to mention God but that angels shall surround them, and the mercy of God cover them, and tranquillity [4] come upon them; and God remembers them as men who are with Him." He translated that saying and I received instruction in the ecstatic worship of the *Ṣūfīs*,[5] and was employed for some time therein, and experienced a wonderful and [6] strange accession of divine grace, and the (inner) meaning of the *Qur'ān* was disclosed to me, and for some time [7] my condition was such that I believed every sound and voice which fell upon my ears to be the mystic chanting of the *Ṣūfīs*. I saw some of the *Shaikh's*

[1] *I.e.*, Bairām Khān's dismissal, his estrangement from the Emperor, rebellion, and violent death.

[2] *I.e.*, the east side of the river, the far side from the city of Āgra.

[3] MS. (A) omits خواند.

[4] The word used here is سَكِينَةٌ from the root سَكَنَ ("it was, or became still, motionless or stationary"). The meaning of سَكِينَةٌ is given by Lane (*Ar. Lex. s. v.*) as 'calmness or tranquillity, gravity, staidness, steadiness, or sedateness," and, "a quality inspiring reverence or veneration." Its meaning in Arabic is thus quite clear. But its etymology calls to mind the Hebrew שְׁכִינָה (praesens Dei Majestas, as Gesenius gives it). This Hebrew word is Rabbinical, not Biblical. The Arabic word سكينة is used to translate the Hebrew שְׁכִינָה, but has not, in Arabic, the same meaning. It is possible that Muḥammad, in using the word, if he did so, may have had some Rabbinical tradition in his mind.

[5] ذكر. *Vide* Hughes' Dict. of Islām, *s. v.* zikr.

[6] MS. (B) has و between عجيب and غريب. The text and MS. (A) omit it. The sense is not affected either way.

[7] چندگاه (MS. (A) and text). چندگاهي MS. (B).

disciples who, to guard themselves from talking foolishly,[1] had (literally) glued their lips together, some of them (for the same reason) had pebbles in their mouths.

The year of the *Shaikh's* death, and where and when it occurred, are not known. (May God remember him to his good!)

XXIV. Shaikh Abū Isḥāq of Lāhōr. 48.

He was one of the spiritual successors of Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd,[2] (may God sanctify his tomb!) In his activity (in traversing the path of righteousness) he surpassed all his contemporaries, and he was one of the most wonderful works of God [3] (be He praised!). In his love for his spiritual guide he was beside himself, and attained to such an intimate relationship with his holy personality that one might say that the two persons were one clear truth expressed [4] in two well turned phrases. Neither the dust of dependent existence nor the soil of potential existence [5] besmirched the skirt of his robe, and at the mere sight of him thoughts of God (may He be honoured and glorified!) cast their rays on each black and thoughtless heart, and the pain of searching after God infected all who saw him. He called no [6] one to his presence with the exception of two or three friends who had been intimate associates [7] of the holy *Miyān* (may God sanctify his soul!) and

[1] عالا يعني.

[2] *Vide* No. XVII. *suprā*.

[3] *Lit.* "he was a miracle (or sign) of the miracles (or signs) of God."

[4] يافته text and MS. (B). دريافته MS. (A).

[5] The two words in the text are حدوث and امكان. Lane (*Arabic-English Lexicon, s. v.*) thus defines حدوث:—"حُدُوثٌ is of two kinds حُدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ, which is A thing's *being preceded by non-existence*: and حُدُوثٌ ذَاتِيٌّ, which is A thing's *being dependent on another for its existence*" The word in this passage has the latter meaning. امكان means "contingent, or potential existence," *i.e.*, as opposed either to وجوب, "necessary existence" or وجود, "actual existence." The meaning of the passage is that the *Shaikh* employed himself with none but God, the self-existent and necessarily existent Being.

[6] نمي طلبيد. MS. (B) wrongly omits نمي.

[7] همراز و همزبان (text). The MSS. omit و.

who had their dwelling in Lāhōr; nor was he solicitous to receive disciples. He always lived in privacy in a dark cell, which was situated in a garden, and at times, when an intense longing for the holy *Miyāṅ* overcame him he would go on foot in one day from Lāhōr to Shīrgarh, a distance of over forty *kurūh*,[1] and after merely kissing the *Miyāṅ's* threshold he would return, without breaking his journey, unable to endure the effulgence of the *Miyaṅ's* luminous presence.[2]

In the year already mentioned[3] I was honoured by being enabled to pay my respects to that venerable and most worthy man, and was his guest for a day and a night. On the next day, I set out alone, save for one attendant on foot,[4] when the disturbances were at their height, for Shīrgarh. I was stopped by *Jāts*[5] and highwaymen, who surrounded me on every side, and they were astonished (at my rashness) and asked me whither I was going, alone in this perilous desert. So soon as I said that I had just taken my leave of Miyāṅ Shaikh Abū Isḥāq with a view of paying my respects to my reverend spiritual guide, the *Miyāṅ* (may God
49. have mercy on them both!) they, immediately they heard the auspicious names of those two holy men, submitted themselves to me, and brought me milk and curds and such like refreshments, and set me on my way, and warned me to be cautious, and wary,

1 *I.e.*, about 80 miles.

2 In the original this passage runs as follows:—

وگاه گاهی که شوق حضرت میان (گریبان گیر او میگشت از لاهور بیک روز در شیرگڈه که بمسافت چهل کروه زیاده است پیاده میرفت و آستان بوسیده بهمان پای باز میگشت و تاب تجلّی دیدار پر انوار حضرت میان) نداشت -

The portion between the brackets has been carelessly omitted from MS. (B) the copyist having evidently mistaken the words حضرت میان just before the brackets for the same words repeated at the end of the bracketed portion. An absurd *non sequitur* is the result of this careless error.

3 *Vide suprā* in the life of Shaikh Dā'ūd (XVI.) p. 56, n. 4.

4 *Lit.* "Alone with one attendant on foot." The جلودار ran beside the horse of the person whom he attended.

5 چتان text. جتان (?) MS. (A). حتان MS. (B). The tribe referred to must, I think, be the *Jāts* whose name would be properly spelt جات (pl. جاتان) in the Persian character. *Vide* Sherring, "Hindu Tribes and Castes" II. 73.

urging me to make frequent mention of the name of the holy *Miyāṅ* in my religious exercises,[1] as he had endeared himself to all the people of that country, both gentle and simple. Thus, at last, I returned in safety[2] to the place whither I was bound, as has been already stated.[3]

In the year in which the holy *Miyāṅ* removed the pavilion (of his existence) from this transitory world and pitched it in the kingdom of eternity, and very shortly after his death, there was a plague in the Panjāb; and all his associates,[4] his family, and his most noted spiritual successors and representatives, who numbered fifty or[5] sixty souls, perfect and perfected, among whom was "the interpreter of secrets," Miyāṅ 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, also known as Miyāṅ Bābū, with one accord, as though by appointment, successively and each in his due turn, joined the holy *Miyāṅ* (in the next world) in the space of three or four months, as it pleased God. (This was the case of those intimately connected with him), but what shall I say of his sincere pupils disciples, and attendants at large? Miyāṅ Shaikh Abū Isḥāq, too, owing to the greater intimacy of his connection with the

1 ذکر و ورد نام حضرت میان. *Zikr* has been already described. The highwaymen apparently urged Badāonī to recite the name of Shaikh Dā'ūd in his *zikr*, an exercise in which only the names and attributes of God should be recited. The passage exemplifies the superstitious veneration with which ignorant Indian Muslims regard their *pīrs*, and gives some colour to the charge brought against Shaikh Dā'ūd by Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, that he permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their *zikr*, they crying out "*Yā Dā'ūd, yā Dā'ūd!*" Shaikh Dā'ūd very dexterously repelled the charge (*vide suprā* p. 53), but from the request here made by the robbers it is almost certain that the practice was common among the *Shaikh's* followers, even if it was not approved by him. ورد *Wird* is a portion of the *Qur'ān* set or imposed for recital on a particular occasion, or at a particular time. It seems that the name of the *Shaikh* was to be introduced into these passages from the *Qur'ān*, or it may be that they were to be recited in the *Shaikh's* name.

2 بعافیت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

3 *Vide suprā*, in the life of Shaikh Dā'ūd (No. XVI), pp. 56-60.

4 جمیع اصحاب اهل بیت (text). The MSS. insert و between اصحاب and اهل بیت. The careless omission of the conjunction in the text would give the passage a very unpleasant sound to an Eastern ear.

5 MS. (B) wrongly inserts و here.

Miyān, sped from the desert of separation to the true *Ka'bah* [1] of union and propinquity. "Some of them have fulfilled their vow and others of them await its fulfilment." [2] Ah, *Khāja*, it may be

"That thou preparest a cup [3] for them."

He who afterwards continued the exalted line of the *Qādiriyyah* [4] order was Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh, the most orthodox and noble son of the holy *Miyāṅ*, who, since the latter removed the baggage (of his existence) to the garden of *Riẓwān*,[5] remains at present the compendium of all the perfections [6] and the successor to all the exalted qualities of Miyāṅ Shaikh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.[7]

The peace of God, so long as nights succeed one another,
Be on the pure *Shaikh*, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.

It is to be hoped that this garden of good fortune will aye remain fruitful—through the prophet and his honoured family.

50. XXV. Shaikh Rukṇu-'d-Dīn.

(*May God have mercy on him!*)

He is the orthodox son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangū, whose distinguished virtues and perfections are beyond the need of any comment or exposition, being sufficiently indicated and

[1] "The cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Makkah, which contains the *Ḥajaru-'l-Aswad*, or black stone." Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*. The word is frequently used metaphorically, as in this passage, for any object of desire, or reward at a journey's end, the simile being the toilsome desert journey of the Makkah pilgrims, with the *Ka'bah* for its object.

[2] *Qur'ān* xxxiii. 23.

مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُم مَّن قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَنتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا

"Some there were among the faithful who made good what they have promised to God. Some have fulfilled their vow and others await *its fulfilment*, and have in no way changed."

[3] Of the wine of paradise.

[4] The order founded by Shaikh Dā'ūd and described (p. 52), as being midway between the *Sahravardī* and *Cishtī* orders.

[5] *i.e.*, "paradise." Riẓwān is the keeper of the garden of paradise.

[6] *Lit.* "the gatherer together of all the perfections."

[7] Shaikh Dā'ūd.

signified by the holy writings which he has compiled. Gangū is a *pargana* town [1] in [2] the confines of Thānesar.

The *Shaikh* was a man greatly respected, whose outward appearance bore witness to his perfections. He was a man of great authority in the mysticism of the Ṣūfīs, and followed the religious rule of the holy men of his own order, and [3] was one of those who are overcome by a mysterious longing after God and are subject to fits of religious ecstasy.[4]

He went [5] occasionally, but very seldom, to the houses of men of worldly position and rank, and never but when in need. Otherwise he remained constantly in the corner of retirement and abstraction. I, the compiler of these pages, paid my respects to him in Dihlī, at the time of Bairam Khān's rebellion,[6] in one of the assemblies of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz (may God have mercy on him!). Praise be to God (therefor).

XXVI. Miyāṅ Muṣṭafā of Gujarāt.

His descent was from the Bōharas,[7] a tribe in Gujarāt whose occupation is trading. By means of one of the intimate friends of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (may God sanctify his soul!) he constantly followed the path of poverty and self-effacement, walking steadfastly in that way to the end of his life. When the *Khalīfah* of the age, after the conquest of the country of Bang,[8] reached Ajmīr on his return from

[1] Badāonī means "near Thānesar." Thānesar was a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *sarkār*, while Gangūh was a pargana town in the adjoining sarkār of Sahāranpūr. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 290.

[2] در text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has از.

[3] و is omitted from the MSS. but seems to be rightly supplied in the text.

[4] از ارباب ذوق و حال بود. The *Ṣūfī*-istic technical terms ذوق and حال have already been explained.

[5] رفتی carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

[6] در زمان فتنات بیرم خان. *Vide* vol. II. text, pp. 35 *et seqq.*, and *Akbar-nāma* (text) II., 91–121.

[7] The Boharas are a tribe of Musalmāns in the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and parts of the Panjab. They are *Shī'ahs* by religion. Sir George Campbell is of opinion that they are a cross between immigrants from the Persian Gulf and "Hindu Borahs." *Vide* Sherring, "Hindu Castes and Tribes" II, 183, 184. The Boharas throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881.

[8] *i.e.*, Bengal.

Patna,[1] Āṣaf Khān II, the Mīr Bakhshī, in obedience to the Imperial order, brought him with him from Gujarāt. The Emperor, calling the *'Ulamā* together one night in the courtyard of the Hall of Audience, questioned Shaikh Muṣṭafā on the truth about the *Mahdawī* question, and he readily answered, and the discussion
51. was prolonged; and Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sirhind,[2] in accordance with his vile disposition, was overbearing in the argument, and vexed the *Shaikh*; and I also related circumstantially and at length what I had found in the commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*,[3] a work by Shaikh Muḥammad-al-Ahjī, who was the immediate[4] disciple of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakhshī,[5] who also, in his time, had set up a claim to being the *Mahdī*, and had brought various troubles on himself thereby. Since what I said was opposed to the *Shaikh's* contention it was evidently the cause of

[1] Vol. II. (text), 185. *Akbarnāma* (text) II., 79. Badāonī places this event in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5). Abū-'l-Faẓl places it in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). The MSS. spell Patna, پٹنہ, after the Persian style. In the text it is Indianized into پٹّنہ.

[2] *Vide* vol. II. (text), pp. 172, 173. The passage is reproduced in the short life of Badāonī prefixed to this volume.

[3] Gulsheni rāz, rosarium arcanorum. Carmen persicum, quod ita incipit:

Nomine ejus, qui animam cogitare docuit

et quaestiones et responsa continet secundum terminologium theosophicum. Ad ejus similitudinem carmen *Azhār-el-gulshen* compositum est. Auctor Rosarii est *Sheikh Mahmud Tebrīzi* qui in vico Shebister natus et sepultus est, qui locus octo parasangas a Tebriz distat. Commentarios in carmen scripserunt *Motzaffer-ed-Dīn Ali Shirazi—Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed Ben Yahya Ben Ali Ahji Jilāni Núrbakhshi*, anno ..... mortuus, cujus commentarius persice scriptus textum admixtum habet, et Mefátih el-i'jáz inscriptus est. Nitide eum exscripsit mense Dzu-'lhijjet anni 877 (inc. 8. Jun. 1472). *Hāji Khalīfah*, 10839.

The commentary of Shaikh Shamsu-'d-dīn is the book referred to. He is described in the text and MSS. as لاهجي (Lāhjī), an error for الاهجي (Al-Ahjī).

The *Gulshan-i-Rāz* has been translated into English by Mr. Whinfield.

[4] The text has بواسطهٔ which, as explained in a footnote to the text, is the reading of both MSS. I think that we should substitute بيوسطهٔ, and have translated accordingly. If, however, the reading of the MSS. be correct we might translate "he was the disciple, with one intermediary, of, &c.," but the expression is awkward and unidiomatic.

[5] Of Badakhshān. A disciple of Abū Isḥāq-i-Khatlānī who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent

his being vexed with me. The Emperor ordered the *Shaikh*, after his arrival at Fatḥpūr, to stay for some days in the house of Khāja 'Abdu-'ṣ-Ṣamad the painter, of sweet pen.[1] To make amends for my fault I waited on him with my apologies, and asked him for forgiveness. He was very feeble, and in that very assembly a basin was brought to him, and he brought up a great quantity of blood. It seems that after he received leave to depart for Gujarāt he removed the baggage (of existence) from this transitory lodging to the eternal abode, either on his way to his native land or immediately after his arrival there. This event took place in the year H. 983 (A.D. 1575-6). He is the author of works which bear witness to his separation from the world and self-effacement.[2] May God deal with him according to His graciousness.

XXVII Shaikh Isḥāq-i-Kākū of Lāhōr.[3]

His father's name was Shaikh Kākū, and the people of Lāhōr believe him to have been a saint.[4] He (Shaikh Isḥāq) was a profoundly learned man, resigned to God and abstinent. He never went to the houses of worldly men or begged from them. He was always teaching, and was a compendium of all branches of knowledge. He was a *Ṣūfī* by religion and was ever employed with the Truth (God).[5] He would not speak unless questions 52.
were put to him. One day he met in the road a contemptible wretch who gave to him an earthen pot full of rice and milk, saying, "Take this and come with me." Without any objection or refusal he took it on his head and passed through the market-place until he came to the place where the man lodged, and from

against him. He was defeated and fled to 'Irāq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors but defied them all. *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) introduction, p. iv. note.

[1] شيرين قلم. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 107.

[2] *Lit.* "From which arises the odour of exile and effacement," the "exile" referring to the *Shaikh's* belief that he was but a sojourner in this world.

[3] *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 545.

[4] *Lit.* "Have a belief in his saintship" (ولايت). A *walī* (ولي) is "one who is very near," *i.e.*, to God. Hughes' *Dict. of Islam s. v.* Both MSS. have داود for دارنده. The emendation in the text is correct.

[5] حق a *Ṣūfī*-istic term for God.

that day forth his heart was washed clean from the guile of pride, and he was also distinguished among those learned in profane knowledge.[1] In the course of the year 995 (A.D. 1587) I had the honour of waiting on that reverend man, and one day I told this story, in some connection or another, to Shaikh Faiẓī,[2] who shortly afterwards received the title of *Maliku-'sh-Shu'arā*[3] and he, according to his habit, which was to decry[4] all holy men,[5] past and present, and to exalt himself, began scoffingly to belittle the *Shaikh*, while I remained silent. I cannot say whether it was that night or some other night that I saw in a dream that Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl had alighted in a plain, in an old ruin which had no more than two or three[6] walls standing. Shaikh Isḥāq was standing in the company of gunners, with a musket in his hand, just as though it were the night of the new moon and the usual custom in the Royal Court of firing off guns on the occasion were being observed. He took aim at me and fired, and the sparks fell all round me and in front of me, and[7] I awoke, terrified. The next day I took an offering to the *Shaikh* and it was honoured with his acceptance, and I told him what had happened to me.[8]

Owing to his great age he had lost the power of speech, but he used to raise his hand and recite the *Fātiḥah*, praise be to God! He was the instructor of most of the famous learned men of Lāhōr, such as Shaikh Sa'du-'llāh, who had no rival[9] in his time, and Shaikh Munavvar and others.

[1] Or perhaps, "he was distinguished from those learned in secular knowledge," *i.e.*, by his humility.

[2] The brother of Abū-'l-Faẓl.

[3] "King of Poets," the title commonly given to the poet laureate in Muḥammadan Courts.

[4] نفي. The text wrongly has نفيي with the *hamzah*.

[5] The MSS. have مشائخ کبار. The text omits کبار.

[6] دوسه. MS. (B) has دوسر, which is nonsense.

[7] و, supplied in the text, though it appears in neither MS.

[8] Badāonī evidently regarded the vision as a punishment for not having defended the *Shaikh* when he was attacked by Faiẓī. In this passage MS. (B) wrongly omits گفتم. I have already expressed my opinion of this MS.

[9] قرینه *lit.* "an analogy," something which bears a resemblance to something else.

In his youth the *Shaikh* was inclined mostly to sport,[1] and took his delight therein, so that whenever he had leisure from study he would take his falcon and hawk and would go out hawking, traversing the ground on foot.

His venerable age exceeded one hundred years when, in the year H. 996 (A.D. 1588), he hastened away to the close companionship[2] of God. **53.**

XXVIII. Shaikh Sa'du-'llāh Banī Isrā'īl.

One of the orthodox, noble, and bountiful pupils of Isḥāq Kākū. He has followed various rules of life. At first he was a strict observer of the holy law, but suddenly, throwing off all restraint, he committed all manner of unlawful acts, and forming an attachment to a singing girl used to roam[3] about the market-place, for all his gray beard.

Though people heretofore did learn of me
Now love has come, my teaching days are gone.

Men used, from their firm faith in him, to apply the dust of his feet as tutty,[4] and held him to be a saint,[5] and in that capacity he used to give instruction, in the open cattle market.[6] He disposed of all the moveable property[7] of his followers, which he had with him (to satisfy the demands) of his mistress, through love of her. One night when he was drinking wine with

[1] بشکار carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

[2] جوار قرب *lit.* "the neighbourhood of the propinquity."

[3] میگشت (text). Both MSS. have میگذشت.

[4] توتیا a crude zinc oxide, applied to the eyes as a *collyrium*.

[5] عقیدهٔ ولایت باو داشتند. "Believed him to be a *walī*," i.e., one near to God.

[6] The text and MSS. have نخاس . در عین نخاس means "a seller of beasts." The expression is elliptical and obscure, but I take it to be equivalent to در عین بازار نخّاسان and have so translated it, نجاست might be suggested as a variant for نخّاس in which case the sense of the phrase would be, "all polluted as he was," *scil.* by his intercourse with the singing girl.

[7] اسباب carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

her, a party of *muḥtasibs*,[1] together with the students who were his disciples, banded together and entered his house by climbing over the wall, with a view of bringing him to a proper frame of mind,[2] and, breaking all the appurtenances of unlawful and forbidden amusements[3] (which they found), wished to subject him to punishment.[4] He repeated what was said (on one occasion) to the second true *Khalīfah*,[5] the Prince of the true believers, 'Umar (may God be gratified with him!). "If I have committed one unlawful act you have been guilty of three unlawful acts, and are the more deserving of punishment, for that, in order to spy upon me, and without my permission, you entered my house by climbing over the wall."[6] The party, ashamed and abashed, left him. Afterwards, being enabled by God's grace to repent sincerely, he modelled his life on the book *Iḥyā*,[7] and passed his time in worship and austerities, and composed
54. many profitable and sublime books, among them being a commentary on the *Jawāhiru-'l-Qur'ān*[8] by Imām Ghazzālī (may God have mercy upon him!).

[1] Police officers appointed to prevent drinking, gambling and other offences against the moral law.

[2] بجهت اصلاح حال او "for the purpose of remedying his condition."

[3] آلات ملاهي و مناهي "the instruments of wanton amusements and of pastimes prohibited by the sacred law," *i. e.*, such things as dice, drinking-cups, wine vessels, and instruments of music.

[4] تعزير "Censuring," or "inflicting stripes below the full number allowed by law." It does not appear whether the *Shaikh* was to have been flogged or merely rebuked.

[5] بخليفهٔ ثانيِ حقانيِ Here Badāonī stoutly asserts himself as a *Sunnī*.

[6] The three unlawful acts were (1) spying upon a Muslim, (2) entering the house without asking the owner's permission, and (3) entering the house as thieves, by climbing over the wall. The privacy of dwelling is established by the teaching of Muḥammad, and it is unlawful to enter a house without استئذان, or asking permission. *Vide Qu'rān* xxiv. 27–29.

[7] احياء علوم الدين *vide supra*, p. 29, n. 2.

[8] *Jewāhir El-Coran*, gemmae Corani, auctore Imām *Hojjet-el-Islām, Abū Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazāli Tūsi*, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuo. Librum divisum esse commemorat in doctrinas et actiones, has esse exteriores et interiores, interiores autem distributas esse in purificationem et sui ipsius alienationem, ut quatuor sint genera doctrinarum, exteriores dico et interiores, et vituperatione et laude dignas. Singula genera ad decem principia redeunt, totum autem selectissimam Corani partem continet." *Hājī Khalīfah* No. 4293. No mention is made of the commentary composed by the *Shaikh*.

When the *Khalīfah* of the age summoned him to a private interview he asked him, "of what race are you?" and he replied, "of the tribe of the scribes, who are called in the Hindī tongue, *Kāyats*."[1] The Emperor was much pleased with this unassuming answer and held a long conversation with him. I waited on him for the first time in Lāhōr and in some connection or another he made mention of the question of the decay of Multān and the prosperity of Lāhōr, and the matter of the *Sulṭāns* of the Langāh family, especially Sulṭān Ḥusain,[2] speaking on these subjects in such a manner that I was astonished at the manner in which he acquitted himself, and at the elegance and polish of his style. Rarely have I heard such sweetness of diction.

He never left a beggar disappointed, and although he had no concern with commerce or husbandry, and was not in enjoyment of a subsistence allowance from the Emperor, his resources and expenditure on alms and charity were such that nobody knew

[1] The *Kāyats* or *Kāyasths*, the great caste among the Hindus whose occupation is writing. They numbered in 1881 two and a quarter millions. From the *Shaikh*'s cognomen it might be supposed that he was of Jewish or Afghān descent, as was perhaps the case. His forbears may have been employed as scribes, and it is possible that the *Shaikh*, without being a Hindu by descent, was sufficiently politic to humour Akbar's predilection for Hindus, by naively confessing to a Hindu ancestry, and to refrain from proudly claiming a foreign descent, as a bigoted Muslim would probably have done. It is for this reason that Badāonī describes his answer as "unassuming." Or the *Shaikh* may, perhaps, have been descended from *Kāyasths* on the mother's side, and made the most of the fact in order to humour the Emperor.

[2] The Langāh dynasty reigned in Multān from A.D. 1443 to A.D. 1524. Shaikh Yūsuf, the first of the line, established an independent monarchy in Multān in the former year. In the latter year Sulṭān Ḥusain Langāh II., the last of the line was overcome by Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Sindh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Bābar, and afterwards of Humāyūn, from whom, however, he withdrew his allegiance when Shēr Shāh overcame him. When Humāyūn fled to Sindh Shāh Ḥusain received his ambassadors not discourteously, but refused to assist him in any way. He subsequently drove Humāyūn from Sindh. *Āīn-i-Akbari* II. (trans. Jarrett), 334–336, and "The Indus Delta Country," by Major-General M. R. Haig, 89–92.

whence he derived his means,[1] and the people were perplexed on this subject.[2]

On reaching the age of about eighty years he passed away from this illusory world, and great and small, in their thousands, nay more, accompanied[3] his funeral, taking up his pure bier on their heads and shoulders, with a view to obtaining blessings by so doing,[4] (and the crowd was so great that) there was not room to plant one's foot.

XXIX. Miyāṅ Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh of Badāon.

He was one of the benefits of the age and the blessings of the epoch. In early youth he was learning a lesson from the *Būstān*, and came to this couplet :—

"In the way of purity it is impossible, O Sa'dī,
"To travel, except by following the Chosen One,"[5]

(may God bless and save him !). He asked his teacher, "What is the meaning of this couplet ? Explain it to me in Hindī." His
55. teacher said "What business have you with this story[6] ?" He replied "Until you thoroughly explain it to me I will not learn another[7] lesson." When the meaning of it had been explained he said "Give me an account of Muḥammad, "the Chosen" (may God bless and save him !) and tell me who he is." The teacher described to him some of the noble qualities and wondrous works of his holiness (may God bless him and save him), and, as soon as he heard the description, the mystic attrac-

1 *Lit.* "Nobody knew whence all these resources, expenditure, and disbursements were."

2 درین امر. MS. (B) carelessly omits درین.

3 به تشیع جنازه رفته, text and MSS. The word should be تشییع, the reading in the text is nonsense, and is due apparently to the unaccountable antipathy of Indian scholars to the repetition of the letter ي in words of this measure, such as تمییز and تغییر, which they write تمیز and تغیر.

4 به تبرک.

5 The concluding couplet of the introduction to the *Būstān*. The couplet commences here صحالست. The better reading is میندار. The chosen one (مصطفی) is, of course, Muḥammad.

6 حکایت, in neither MS.

7 پیشتر in the text. Both MSS. have, correctly, بیشتر, and so I have translated.

tion of the Lord seized on him, and, rending his shirt, he uttered the creed of Islām.[1] When his parents heard of this they recognized that he had declared himself free of them and renounced them,[2] and could not properly return to their care, so that they, of necessity, relinquished all claim to him, and he, journeying from Sāmāna,[3] the home of his ancestors, employed himself in reading the *Qur'ān*, in making himself acquainted with God's commands, and in the pursuit of knowledge. At last, joining himself to a band of famous sages and great saints he became one of the greatest sages of the age, and placing his hand in the hand of Miyāṅ Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Bāqī-yi-Cishtī of Badāon (may God give rest to his soul !) he became his disciple, and received instruction from him in the mystic worship of the *Ṣūfīs*. Subsequently he attended upon Shaikh Ṣafī of Khairābād[4] (may God sanctify his honoured tomb !) and others, and, employing himself in austerities and in striving after holiness, attained perfection. He acquired the blessing of knowledge from most of the noted masters[5] of his time, especially from Miyāṅ Shaikh Lādan[6] of Dihlī and from Mīr Sayyid Jalāl of Badāon, and after the death of the latter, whose sins are forgiven, he became his successor and tanght and imparted instruction for many years in Badāon, and many well-known sages, who have become famous, sat at his feet. People from the surrounding country and from the utmost parts of (other) countries by waiting upon him attain eternal felicity.

Latterly the mysterious attraction of God has overpowered him, and he appears at meetings for ecstatic singing and dancing,[7]

1 کلمهٔ طیّبه "the delectable speech." لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ وَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللّٰهِ, "there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God."

2 او ابرا و تبرا از ایشان نموده. MS. (B) omits او. The meaning of this passage is that as the boy had devoted himself to the religious life his parents relinquished their control over him and handed him over to his religious instructors.

3 A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Sirhind, *Ṣūba* of Dihlī.

4 Chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Sūba* of Awadh.

5 مقتدایان *lit.* "those who are followed." 6 MS. (B) has لادی.

7 مجلس سماع. The ecstatic "worship" of the *Ṣufis* has already been briefly described. Some of the performances are here described.

and from the excessive influence of his longing and desire after
56. God [1] he utters soul-melting cries and heart-searing shrieks and falls [2] a-trembling, and advances some paces, though there be at the time no ecstatic dance in progress, and crying out, at the same time, the *lā ḥaul* [3] he returns to his place and remains standing there.

His unceremoniousness and unpretentiousness are such that he goes on foot, like his predecessors and successors, to the shop and to the market to buy household goods, whether in small or large quantities, and to purchase all necessary supplies for his kitchen, which he may need, and carries them back to where he dwells. On the way, too, he teaches a number of his students, and howsoever much they may say "Master, there is no need for you to trouble yourself in this way, we will perform this duty," [4] he does not consent thereto. His auspicious appearance bears witness to his poverty and self-effacement, and, notwithstanding his having received permission to impart religious instruction, and documents appointing him a recognized deputy from (various) holy men, he is not devoted to the usual system of *Shaikhs* and their disciples,[5] but on the contrary, carefully avoids it. Clad in the garb of holy men and the vesture of religious leaders he remained cloaked and concealed in his robe.[6]

When I was reading, under his instruction, the commentary on the *Ṣaḥā'if fī-'l-Kalām* [7] and the *Taḥqīq fī uṣūli-'l-*

[1] از شدت غلبهٔ شوق. Both MSS. add و ذوق. The words have been carelessly omitted from the text.

[2] Both MSS. have میفرمایند, the respectful plural. The text has the singular.

[3] The formula لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللّٰهِ, "there is no power or strength but in God."

[4] *I.e.*, the day's marketing.

[5] مقید به شیخی و مریدی نیست *lit.* "he is not devoted to *shaikh*-ship and discipleship," *i.e.*, the system by which a recognized *Shaikh* authorized his disciples to teach, and constituted them his spiritual successors.

[6] قبا "a kind of tunic, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front and made to lap over the chest." Lane, *Arabic Lexicon s. v. vide* also Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 352–362.

[7] "El-Sahāif fi el-Kalam, folia de metaphysica, quæ ita incipiunt; *Laus Deo existentia et unitate digno*, etc., et in praefationem sex folia, et conclu-

fiqh,[1] notwithstanding that a class of pupils [2] of copious attainments and students of clear intellect were also engaged in study, and brought subtil difficulties for his elucidation, I never saw him, in the course of his teaching, to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtilties, for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue, and he had acquired [3] the habit of great readiness, being assisted thereto by God.[4] He is now in his ninetieth year, and will, please God, who is honoured, attain to the natural limit of man's age.

XXX. Shaikh Jalālu-'d-Dīn of Qannauj.[5]

He was a man mysteriously attracted to God and walking in the way of the law.[6] His ancestors came from Multān, and settled in Qannauj, an old and famous city of Hindūstān. After devoting himself to the carrying out of the religious obligations imposed on devout Muslims he experienced a

sionem distributa sunt. In ejus commentariis numeratur liber *El-Mearif fī Sharh El-Sahāif* inscriptus, qui ita incipit; *Laus Deo cujus existentiae nullus est terminus*, etc. Auctor, quem *Samarcandi* esse puto, formula usus est, "dicit auctor," et, "dico ego." Pariter *Behishti* commentarium edidit." *Hājī Khalīfa*, 7718. It was probably one of the two commentaries referred to that Badāonī read.

[1] The book referred to was probably that described by *Ḥājī Khalīfa*, No. 2715:—"El-Tahckic, expositio accurata. Commentarius operis *Muntekhab* de principiis, de quo litera *Mim* videatur." It may, however, have been the following (H. K. No. 2720) "El-Tahckic, accurata expositio, auctore Imam *Mohyi-ed-din Yahya Ben Sheref Newavi*." Badāonī gives the names of these books in Persian. For convenience' sake I have given them their original Arabic titles.

[2] مستر شدان *lit.* "those who seek for religious guidance or instruction." MS. (B) has مرشدان. Probably the word مستر شدان was too much for the copyist.

[3] حاصل کرده. MS. (A) has حاصل گردیده.

[4] MS. (B) omits الله.

[5] The ancient city of Qannauj, (Sans. *Kānya-kubja*), in early Hindu times one of the principal centres of Aryan civilization in India. It was in Badāonī's time the chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *Sūba* of Āgra. It is now a *Taḥsīl* town in the Farrukhābād District, N.-W.P. *Vide* Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," 376–382.

[6] سالک. It has already been observed that the fact of a *Ṣūfī*, one who has experienced جذبه, *i.e.*, has been mysteriously drawn to God condescend

57. mysterious attraction to God, but none the less [1] left no jot or tittle of the pure law unobserved. At times, when overcome by religious ecstasy, he would blacken his face and, hanging the string of a bedstead round his neck, and would wander through the market-places uttering doleful and mournful cries; and he had many unusual observances such as these. One day, when he had completed the Friday prayers in the *Masjid-i-Ḥayy*, I waited on him. He got up and went to visit the old obliterated tombs of his noble ancestors, which were in the courtyard of the *masjid*, and at each [2] grave he recited the *fātiḥah*,[3] and told [4] one of his attendants who conversed with him the story of the life of the occupant of the grave, and after telling separately the stories of each of those holy men, he fell into a reverie, and when his reverie was over he put to that attendant a question from the *Farā'iẓ*.[5] The attendant replied, "If a man dies, and leaves as his heirs one son and one daughter, the son receives two-thirds of the property left by the deceased, and the daughter one-third." The *Shaikh* listened to him with approval and then, without saying another word,[6] left the place. It afterwards became known [7] that the *Shaikh* observed that practice in ac-

ing to observe any of the ordinary restrictions of religion and morality, is always regarded by Badāonī, and by all Muslims of *Ṣūfī*-istic tendencies, as worthy of special remark. The *Ṣūfī* holds himself to be absolved from all such observances. He is above such trivial matters, which have been ordained for the common herd. He is, in short, an antinomian. *Vide supra* p. 27 n. 4.

[1] با آن. MS. (A) has بان, wrongly. Here we have another instance of fact of a *Ṣūfī* observing the religious and moral law being considered extraordinary.

[2] هر omitted from the text in spite of the authority of both MSS.

[3] The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*, recited either in behalf of one's self or of others. Here evidently used as a prayer for the dead.

[4] The text here destroys the whole sense of this passage with يكي از خادمان omitting the preposition. The MSS. have the preposition بـه before يكي, shewing that it was the *Shaikh* who spoke to the attendant, not the attendant to the *Shaikh*.

[5] The Muslim law of inheritance and the division of property left by a deceased person.

[6] سخن تا گفته. MS. (B) has نه for تا.

[7] چنان بظهور انجاميد. MS. (B) has چنانچه for چنان, but with چنان superscribed.

cordance with that tradition, pregnant with meaning, the substance of which is that if a question from the *Farā'iẓ* be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance be made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of the recitation of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins.[1] The *Shaikh* never failed to observe this practice on Fridays.

XXXI. Shaikh Kapūr-i-Majẓūb [2] of Gwāliyār.

(May God have mercy upon him!) [3]

He was a Ḥusainī [4] Sayyid, and in early life followed the military profession.[5] Suddenly, leaving the service, he adopted the occupation of a water-carrier, and at night used to carry water to the houses of chaste and secluded widows,[6] and used to take water to the people free of charge, until he experienced a mysterious attraction towards God, when he gave up all employment, and, abandoning his own free-will, no longer spoke at all, in the way of conversation, but was ever longing for dissolution. 58.

I passed from Thy street supporting myself in my weakness with my hand against the wall,
Thou camest in Thy glory, and I was struck motionless as a picture on the wall.[7]

He chose for his dwelling a house in the lower market of Gwāliyār,[8] and always remained there, and passed all his time with his head drooping in meditation. If any question occurred to the minds of those who were present with him he would answer it, after the manner of those who are mysteriously drawn to God, as though he were raving in a delirium,[9] and would solve

[1] Apparently by the vicarious merit of the reciter.

[2] Affected by جذبة, the mysterious attraction towards God.

[3] This benediction occurs in MS. (A) only.

[4] *I.e.*, a *Sayyid* descended from Ḥusain.

[5] سپاهيگري text, and MS. (B). MS. (A) has سپاهيگري.

[6] عورات بيوة. The use of the word عورت in the sense of "woman," clearly shews the author to have been a native of India. The word does not mean "woman" in Arabic or Persian.

[7] A very common simile in Persian poetry for a person who is suddenly struck motionless by surprise, terror, admiration, or any other emotion.

[8] Or perhaps, "below the market place at Gwāliyār.

[9] This passage shews us the frame of mind expected in men who claim to have been "mysteriously attracted" towards God. It is on this account that madness is regarded in the East with respect, for the Oriental commonly

the difficulty, and he would recount what was passing at a distance.[1] He always passed the night in a standing posture, sometimes weeping and sometimes laughing.

I have heard from his confidants[2] that on one occasion a *Sayyid* came from a foreign country and asked the *Shaikh* to prove his claim to being a *Sayyid*.[3] The *Shaikh* ordered firewood to be brought, and a large fire to be lighted, and then, taking the man by the hand, said, "Come, let us both enter the fire,

"That his face may be blackened[4] who is lying."

The *Sayyid* held aloof, but Shaikh Kapūr, entering the fire, came out of it without hurt; and many other similar miracles are related of him. All accounts of him agree in this respect. For the sake of brevity I have related only this much.

[5] In the course of the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-2) he ran out one night shouting "Strike, strike!"[6] and fell from over the door of his house, and surrendered his life to God. Shaikh Faiẓī found the date of his death in the words "*Kapūr-i-Majẓūb*."[7]

XXXII. Shaikh Allāh[8] Bakhsh of Garmaktesar.[9]

Garmaktesar is a *pargana* town on the banks of the Ganges, in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. He lived for forty years in poverty

believes that the maniac is as likely to be possessed by God as by an evil spirit. The account of travels of the eccentric Tom Coryate supplies us with an interesting example of this view of madness.

1 مغیبات. This word has been too much for the scribe of MS. (B), whose version is مغنیات.

2 ثقات. MS. (B) has ثقاب.

3 برهان سیادت ازو طلبیده بود. The MSS. omit از.

4 *I.e.*, "that he may be put to shame," the usual idiom in Persian and Urdu. It is peculiarly appropriate here, from the nature of the ordeal.

5 MS. (A) has و here.

6 مار مار. These words are probably Hindūstānī, which the *Shaikh* most likely spoke, at any rate in moments of excitement, and I have translated them accordingly. If we suppose them to be Persian they will mean "A snake, a snake!"

7 20+2+6+200+40+3+600+6+2=879, the sum being just a hundred short.

8 The text has الله (*Ilāh*) though both MSS. have الله (*Allāh*).

9 Garmaktesar, or more properly Garhmakhtesar, is now an interesting old town in the Mirath District, N.-W. P., picturesquely situated on the

and contentment, employed in imparting religious instruction to students. He was noted for his resignation, and companionship with him caused one to think of God.

In his seventieth year he journeyed to Sambal[1] for pleasure, 59.
and an old woman, the widow of the late Shaikh Banjū of Sambal, she being devout and given to fasting, the fourth (perfect woman)[2] of her age, having lived for thirty-five years without a husband, never breaking her fast save with milk, privately sought to become his disciple, and asked him to shew her the way of God. He sent an answer to her to this effect, "Until thou obey the law of his holiness the best of men,[3] (on him and on his family be blessing and salutation from God), and enter the bonds of matrimony,[4] it is in vain for thee to ask concerning this path,[5] and to speak of it." She at once entered her travelling litter, and waited on him, and was married to him, and shortly afterwards both of them journeyed to the next world.[6]

I waited on that reverend man in company with one of my friends, by name Sayyid Qāsim, who was one of the noblest of the *Sayyids* of Dihlī, and found him pleasant in companionship and likewise in speech. When a basin and ewer were brought for us to wash our hands he said, "Begin with that *Sayyid*, for 'One who is of the family of Hāshim[7] has a better right to precedence.'"

right bank of the Ganges. It takes its name from the ancient fort and from the temple of Mukhteshwara Mahādeva.

1 سنبل (text). The reading of the MSS. (بسنبل) is correct.

2 The reference here is to the tradition that Muhammad said, "Among men there have been many perfect, but among women only four, 'Asiyah, the wife of Fir'aun (Pharaoh), Mariyam, the daughter of Amrān, Khadījah, the daughter of Khawailid, and Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad." In the *Qur'ān*, and probably, therefore, in this tradition, Miriam, the daughter of Amrān, and sister of Moses and Aaron, is confounded with the Blessed Virgin. Badāonī means to say that this old lady was entitled to rank with the four perfect women of the tradition, but it would have been more logical to call her the fifth, not the fourth perfect woman.

3 Muḥammad.

4 Celibacy is frequently condemned by Muḥammad, for "when a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion." *Vide* Hughes, "Dict of Islam" *sub vocibus* "Celibacy" and "Marriage."

5 را, in neither MS. but rightly supplied in the text.

6 سفر آخرت گزیدند. MS. (B) has گزید, which is nonsense

7 The great-grandfather of Muḥammad, from whom the latter's family, represented now by the *Sayyids*, are called *Hashimis*.

XXXIII. Shaikh 'Ārif-i-Ḥusainī.[1]

He is one of the grandsons of Shāh Isma'īl-i-Ṣafavi.[2] He is a great master of exorcism, practises many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt barley bread and bitter herbs, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of the holy law, and recites the *āẕān*[3] at the five times of prayer, in the very portico[4] of Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, at the Imperial Court, fearing nobody. Many miracles are related of him, one of them being as follows. He will throw a round piece of paper into a chafing-dish, with the fire burning therein, and will take out of the chafing-dish coined *ashrafīs*[5] and distribute them to the company, how many soever they be. They say that he
60. will come out of a locked room, just as bodies are transported from place to place, and will appear elsewhere. On one occasion he came from Gujarāt to the city of Lāhōr and gave to the people winter fruits in the summer time and summer fruits in the winter time. The *'ulamā* of the Panjāb, the chief of whom was Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk,[6] raised objections to what he was doing, and said, "It is evident that this fruit comes from some people's orchards, and that he has possessed himself of it without the

[1] *I.e.*, a *Sayyid* descended from Husain.

[2] The word *Safavī* occurs in neither MS. Shāh Isma'īl was the founder of the *Safavī* dynasty in Persia. He was descended of a long line of pious *Sayyids*. His reign commenced in A.D. 1500 according to Musalmān historians, but according to Malcolm (*Hist. Persia* I. 500) he was not recognized as sovereign of the whole Persian Empire until A.D. 1502 in which year he overcame Sulṭān Murād, in a battle fought near Hamadān in Irāq. (*Vide* Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, and Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 183, 184).

[3] The call to prayer.

[4] The text and MSS. have پشخانه which has no meaning. I read پیشخانه, with the meaning here given. Another reading suggested is تشخانه, "wardrobe," "store-room for clothes," or for basins, ewers, &c. The two variants were suggested to me by Shamsu-l-'Ulama Shaikh Maḥmūd Jīlānī. He prefers the latter.

[5] The gold coin commonly known as a "gold mohur."

[6] Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk has already been mentioned more than once. He was chief of the *'Ulama* or orthodox doctors during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors, Shīr Shāh, Salīm Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh, and 'Adlī, during which period he held the title of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* which had been given him by

owners' permission, and to eat it[1] is unlawful." As he was not well received in that country, he went to Kashmīr, and 'Alī Khān,[2] the ruler of that land believed firmly in him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, but, when he discovered that Shaikh 'Ārif was setting up some claim or another,[3] he demanded his daughter's dowry back again, and took a deed of divorce from her husband; and the *Shāh*[4] went thence to Tibat, and there also, they say, he performed many miracles, one of them being that he shook a tree, and quantities of *dirhams* and *dīnārs*[5] fell from it. In this manner he exhibited great supernatural power, in Gujarāt, Hindūstān,[6] Kashmīr, and Tibat, and wherever he went attempts were made on his life, and he travelled from country to country.

On the first occasion on which the Emperor made a tour from Kashmīr to Kābul the Shāh came to see him in the course of that journey, and the Emperor appointed persons to have charge of him, who should not let him go out of their sight.[7] And sometimes, when he came into the Emperor's presence, his Majesty would place musk, and camphor, and other perfumes in a golden cup, and present it to the *Shaikh* as a gift, but

Humāyūn. His name was Maulānā 'Abdullah Ansārī, of Sulṭānpur. He did not die until H. 990 (A.D. 1582) being then, like the rest of the *'Ulamā*, in disgrace. *Vide* Vol. II., text, 202-204, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) introduction vii., 544 *et passim*.

[1] آن carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

[2] This was 'Alī Khān Cak, King of Kashmīr, who reigned from A.H. 971 to A.H. 986 (A.D. 1563-1578) in which latter year he died from injuries received during a game of *caugān* (polo), and was succeeded by his son, Yūsuf Khān (or Shāh) Cak, in whose time Kashmīr was conquered by Shāhrukh Mirzā and annexed to the empire. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), 478, 479 and II. (trans. Jarrett), 380.

[3] This vague statement may mean that the *Shaikh* was following the fashion of the time and setting up as *Mahdī*.

[4] *I.e.*, the *Shaikh*. This is the usual title of courtesy applied in India and especially in the Panjāb to *Sayyids*.

[5] Small silver and gold coins. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann) 35, 36.

[6] The word is هند (Hind), but from its juxtaposition with Gujarāt and Kashmīr it is evident that it means only Hindūstān proper.

[7] The *Shaikh* though honoured on account of his reputation for sanctity was evidently regarded as a dangerous character. His royal descent would have served to increase the suspicion with which he was regarded.

however much he said "Accept from[1] me some gold, or some land," the *Shaikh* would reply, "Bestow[2] the gold upon your *Aḥadīs*,[3] for they are in sorry case. What should I do with it?" When I saw the *Shāh* in company with Qalīj Khān, in the portico[4] of Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, under whose protection the *Shāh* was,[5] I standing on the parapet of a roof which overlooked his cell, he had his face covered with a veil, and was writing, and was saying
61. to one who was with him, "It was this Qalīj Khān who said, 'I am Qalīj, your slave and servant.'"[6] It is probable that the *Shaikh* had been accustomed to veil his face for a long time, and it was said that he possibly did so to avoid being recognized when he travelled from place to place—but God knows the truth. I heard from a trusted and intimate associate of the *Shaikh* that one day in Kashmīr the Emperor sent Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fatḥ[7] to wait upon the *Shāh*, and one of them,[8] agreeably to the Emperor's order, said, "*Shāh* how would it be if you were to raise your veil, so that I might see your comeliness?" He would not comply and said, "I am a poor beggar; let me alone, and vex me no more."[9] The *Ḥakīm*, with

[1] قبول نمائید. Both MSS. have نمایند.

[2] عنایت کنید MS. (A) has کنند.

[3] A *corps d'élite*. Abū-'l-Faẓl says, in his stilted and obscure style, "They are called Aḥadīs because they are fit for a harmonious unity." They were employed in the Civil Departments of the Administration as well as in the Army. From the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* we learn that their pay was Rs. 25 *per mensem* in the case of Tūrānīs and Persians, and Rs 20 in the case of Hindūstānīs. If employed to collect the revenue they received Rs. 15 *per mensem*, and were called *barāwardī*, which we may translate by "seconded." The lower pay of those employed in collecting the revenue is simply a recognition of the invariable Asiatic rule that all those concerned in collecting what is due to Government will also collect what is not due to themselves. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, *passim*.

[4] *Vide supra*.

[5] Or, perhaps more probably, "in whose custody the Shāh was."

[6] The *Shaikh* evidently had cause of complaint against Qalīj Khān. The expression seems to mean that Qalīj Khān had at first professed devotion to him as a holy man, and had afterwards treated him with coolness and indifference, taking his cue from his superior at Court.

[7] *Vide infra* Chapter III, No. VIII, also Vol. II *passim*, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II (trans. Blochmann), 424, 425 *et passim*.

[8] Evidently Abū-'l-Fatḥ, from what follows.

[9] پیشتر (text). Both MSS. have بیشتر which is clearly the correct reading.

his usual impudence and insolence,[1] stretched forth his hand, and endeavoured to pull off the veil. The *Shāh* objected, and becoming[2] angry said, "God forbid! I am not leprous or deformed; behold! See my face!" and he rent the collar of his garment and threw the veil from his face on to the ground, and said, "*Ḥakīm*, you have now seen my face, but, please God, the honoured One, you shall, in the space of a fortnight,[3] see what the outcome of this matter will be." Fifteen days had not passed when the *Ḥakīm*, in the course of that very journey, died of the complaint of hepatic diarrhœa.[4] And countless other miracles of this sort are related of the *Shaikh*.

One day the Emperor said to him, "*Shāh*, either become like me, or make me like yourself." He answered, "How can we, who have abandoned worldly objects,[5] become like you? If you will come and sit beside us, in order that you may become even as us."

XXXIV. Mīr Sayyid 'Alā'u-'d-Dīn of Awadh.[6]

(*May God have mercy upon him!*)

He possessed sublime perfections[7] of nature and manifested miraculous powers, and gave clear proofs (of his sanctity).[8] He
62. was one of God's most wondrous works, and many miracles are related of him. Notwithstanding the glorious position and exalted degree (as a saint) to which he attained he would sometimes declare holy mysteries and sacred truths in verse,[9] and this opening couplet by him is the admiration of the world:—

"I know not what colour and scent that smiling[10] rose hath,
"With which the birds of every meadow hold converse."

[1] Badāonī had no liking for Abū-'l-Fatḥ, who had great influence over the Emperor, and was one of those who led him astray in religious matters.

[2] در غضب آمدو. MS. (A) has آمد.

[3] دو هفته carelessly omitted from MS. (B).

[4] اسهال کبدی. [5] ناصرادان.

[6] Ajudhya, near the modern Faiẓābad.

[7] The text here has مقامات, though both MSS. have کمالات, which is the reading which I have followed.

[8] حجج - صاحب حجج باهره is the plural of حجة "that which convinces."

[9] Strictly orthodox Muslims are inclined to regard poetry with suspicion

[10] *Lit.* "laughing." A "laughing rose" is a rose with its mouth open, *i.e.*, a full-blown rose. MS. (B) reads خود رو, which means "self-growing."

And he has composed a *tarjī'-band*[1] of which this is the refrain :—

"View with the eyes of thy heart nothing except the Friend,
"Whatsoever thou seest regard as a manifestation of Him."

And Shaikh 'Irāqī (may God[2] sanctify his soul!) has said on the same subject :—

Refrain.

"The world is outward show; its reality is the Friend,
"If thou lookest to reality, He is everything."[3]

And another has said :—

Refrain.

"The world is a ray from the Face of the Friend,
"All things existing are the shadow of Him."

And I have written the following :—

Refrain.

"He is the kernel of the world, the world is nought but the shell,
"But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He?"[4]

Many of the holy men of the time have sat at the *Mīr's* feet,[5] one of them being his own worthy son, Mīr Sayyid Māhrū who walks in the footsteps of his illustrious father. Another was Mīr Sayyid 'Alī-yi-Nalharī,[6] who was subject to overpowering

The text follows this reading but gives خذدان, the reading of MS. (A) as a footnote variant. I follow MS. (A).

1 The *tarjī'band* opens with a *maṭla'* like the Ghazal and consists of strophes or stanzas, each containing from five to eleven couplets. Between each stanza is inserted the *band* or refrain, a couplet which is of the same metre with the stanza, but which has a different rhyme.

2 The word الله is not in MS. (A). If it be omitted the verb becomes passive and the benediction is, "may his soul be sanctified!"

3 MS. (B) omits بۂ before معني and reads كن for كني, two very careless errors.

4 The purport of all these refrains is the same. They voice the pantheism of the *Ṣūfīs*.

5 Lit. have risen from his skirt.

6 The reading is clear in both MSS. and in the text. I cannot identify the place. It may very likely be Bilehrī (بلهري) which much resembles "Nalharī" (نلهري) in the Persian character. Bilehrī is a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Awadh. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 174.

fits of religious ecstasy, and always remained secluded, and in whom a wonderful degree of religious poverty and separation from the world[1] was apparent. He spoke wonderfully well on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*. I, in company with Ḥusain Khān,[2] **63.** waited on him[3] in Kānt u Gūla[4] in the *sarkār* of Sambal, and received much profit from his precious utterances;—praise be to God therefor!

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī used always to say in his prayers, "O God! make me a martyr!" Accordingly on one occasion some of the robbers of that town, which is a noted den of thieves, entered the *Mīr's* house at midnight, and an outcry was raised. The *Mīr*, notwithstanding his ninety years of age and his bodily feebleness, seized an iron mace, and shouting out "Allāh, Allāh!" followed the thieves, wounding and sending to hell one or two of them. At last an arrow struck him in a vital spot, and he attained the rank of a martyr. This event occurred in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90), and the words, "What has happened to that perfect spiritual guide?"[5] were found to give the date.

XXXV. Shaikh Ḥamzah of Lakhnau.

(May the mercy of God be upon him!)[6]

He is the grandson of Malik Ādam, the Kākar,[7] who was one of the nobles of Sulṭān Sikandar, and Ibrāhīm Lōdī.[8] He lived

1 The word used is غربت, which means "exile," "sojourning in a strange land," just as غريب means "a stranger" or "foreigner." I take the meaning of the passage to be that Mīr Sayyid 'Alī regarded this world merely as a place in which he sojourned for a time, looking for a better country. It may be though, that as غريب has come to mean in Hindustānī, and in Indian Persian, "poor," Badāonī, whose style is characteristically Indian, uses غربت in the sense of "poverty."

2 Badāonī's first patron. Vide *suprà passim*.

3 Evidently Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.

4 Ḥusain Khān's *jāgīr*. The modern Shāhjahānpūr, in Rohilkhand.

5 3+5+300+4+1+50+40+200+300+4+20+1+40+30=998.

6 MS. (A) has رحمة الله عنه. The text and (B) have رحمة الله.

7 An Afghān tribe. "The Kākar country on the Indus frontier is about a hundred miles square, and extends from the Waziri border on the north to the Baloch border on the south." Bellew's "Races of Afghānistān," 91-94. *Āīn-i Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), 377.

8 The second and third (and last) *Sulṭāns* of the Lodī dynasty. Ibrāhīm was conquered by Bābar at Pānipat, and slain.

always by the tomb of his grandfather. The tomb of Malik Adam is of the length of two ordinary tombs, or more.

Shaikh Ḥamzah was powerfully affected by a mysterious attraction towards God. He was of commanding presence and great stature, and from time to time he took walks in the city, striding along like a tiger, and carrying stones in his hand, which he would throw around him in all directions, never, however, hitting anybody with them. He recited very sweetly, and was always reading the glorious *Qur'ān*. He paid great attention to any person whom he considered to be well disposed, summoning such to his presence. God be praised that I was one of them. He used to read omens. For the rest, most people were terrified by his behaviour,[1] and would not frequent his society, lest some evil should happen to them.

64.

XXXVI. Shaikh Pīrak.

(May God have mercy upon him!)

He was also a native of Lakhnau. He used to live secluded in a cave in the forest, in the banks of the river Kūdī,[2] remote from any habitation and so concealed that nobody could find the way thither. He broke his fast (no oftener than) once in every week, after the Friday prayers. In his house there was a decrepit old man who used to bring to him for his meal a fragment of dry bread and some of the fruit of a plantain tree which (the *Shaikh*) had planted with his own hand. If anyone had embarked on an arduous enterprise he would come at that appointed time[3] and sit at the door of the *Shaikh's* cell, but the *Shaikh* would never speak.[4]

When Ḥusain Khān was governor of Lakhnau I went with a friend named 'Abdu-'r-Rahmān, who was Ḥusain Khān's deputy, to endeavour to obtain an interview with the *Shaikh*. We found

[1] حرکات و سکنات lit. "his movements and restings."

[2] I think the Gumtī river, on which Lakhnau is situated, must here be meant. I can find no river or stream in Awadh bearing the name of Kūdī or Gūdī.

[3] *I.e.*, the time when the *Shaikh* broke his fast.

[4] This may mean that the visitor would never speak, but the statement refers more probably to the *Shaikh*. The visitor's idea apparently was that he had made a pilgrimage, the merit of which would benefit him, without any advice or consolation from the *Shaikh*.

him nothing but skin, as it were, stretched over bones, and great snakes darted their heads out of their holes both within and without the cave. One of those present was terrified and would have struck at them with his staff, but the Shaikh forbad him by a sign, and said, "What have they taken from you?"

When we asked the little old man concerning him he told us that he had dwelt in that desolate spot for more than thirty years and that the snakes had become quite tame from being with him and never injured anybody. When we were bidding him farewell he made a sign to all of those present to take some fragments of bread, several days old, and some dried fruit, which he had before him, and my friend offered him a piece of gold which he would not accept. These two[1] holy men died very shortly after that time.

XXXVII. Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥusain of Sikandra.

Sikandra[2] is a town in the Doāb. The Shaikh was one who was mysteriously drawn to God and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. For fifty years after leaving the public service he lived as a recluse, withdrawn from all people, ever and persist- 65.
ently seated in devotional seclusion, and visited nobody. When I waited on him in the year 974 (A.D. 1566-67) he asked me the meaning of this couplet of Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ:—

"God's forgiveness is greater than our sin.
Why utterest thou obscure sayings? Hold thy peace."

I asked him where the difficulty was and he said, "As it was he himself that uttered the obscure saying why did he command silence?" I asked him to explain the couplet and he said, "It occurs to me that the obscure saying may be this, that even our sins are part of His creation, and to say this is to transgress." I remained silent, and he then in like manner commented on the following verse:—

"And serve thy Lord till the certainty overtake thee."[3]

[1] Shaikh Pirak and his old attendant.

[2] Sikandra Rāo, headquarters of the *tahṣīl* of the same name in the Aligarh District of the U.P.

[3] واعبد ربک حتی یاتیک الیقین Qur'ān xv. 99. 'The certainty' is death.

He said, "The word حتى ('till') signifies the extreme limit, but there can be no question of an extreme limit here, but apparently this limit might have reference to the second person singular, to which it would be possible to apply it." God knows what his meaning was; and that was the last conversation that we had together.

XXXVIII. Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid of Bilgrām.

Bilgrām [1] is a dependency of Qannauj. He is a most learned and accomplished man, much given to austerities and devotions. He has a sublime disposition and attractive qualities, and he follows a sublime religious rule. He used formerly to indulge in ecstatic exercises and sing ecstatic songs in Hindī and fall into trances, but he is now past all this. He has written an appreciative commentary on the *Nuzhatu-'l-arwāḥ* [2], and many treatises on the technical terms of the *Ṣufis*, one of them named *Sanābil*, [3]
66. and many other able compositions besides. Although he is the disciple of another he has profited much by the company of Shaikh Ḥusain of Sikandra, and used to come every year from Bilgrām for the Shaikh's annual festival, but now that he suffers from defective sight he cannot go there and is settled in Qannauj.

In the year 977 (A.D. 1569-70), when I arrived in Bilgrām from Lucknow, the Shaikh came to visit me, on my sick bed, [4] and his was the first visit that had on my wounds the effect of ointment, and he said, "These wounds are the roses of love." It so happened that at the same time the venerable Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Badāonī came there, like an invisible spirit, from Badāon, and I am convinced that if ever in my life I experienced a "night of power" [5] it was that night. The *Mīr* has a genius

[1] The well-known *taḥṣīl* town in the Hardoī District, famous for its Sayyids and learned men.

[2] "The joy (or purity) of souls," evidently a *Ṣūfī*-istic treatise.

[3] "Ears of corn."

[4] Badāoni had been severely wounded by the relatives of a boy whom he had assaulted.

[5] A mysterious night in the month of Ramaẓān, the precise date of which is said to have been known only to Muḥammad and a few of the companions. See *Qur'ān* xcvii. The excellences of this night are said to be innumerable, and it is believed that during its solemn hours the whole animal and vegetable creation bow down in humble adoration to the Almighty. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s.v. *Lailatu-'l-Qadr*.

for poetry and he wrote of a witty, beloved and acceptable friend named Rājā the following couplet:

"Thoughts of thee have made my heart their throne,
Never will my heart have room for any but thee."

Do not depart in anger (lit. quarrel) as thou comest first in peace.

For a moment do thou sit with kindness, so that I may get out of my own self.

CHAPTER II.

An account of the learned men, most of whom the author has met, or from whom he has received instruction.

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceeds the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Ḥātim of Sambhal.

I. Shaikh Ḥātim of Sambhal.[1]

He was the pupil of Miyāṅ 'Azīzu-'llāh of Ṭalamba.[2] Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in scholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary 67
on the *Miftāḥ*[3] and the *Muṭawwal*,[4] from the *bā* of *Bismi-'llāh* to the *tā* of "*tammata*," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When *Mullā* 'Alā'u-'d-dīn Lārī took to the *Miyāṅ*, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the *'Aqā'id-i-Nasafi*,[5] the *Miyāṅ*, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that *Mullā* 'Alā'u-'d-dīn was unable to answer him.

1 *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428. 2 *Vide* page 3, note 4.

3 The *Miftāḥu-l-'ulūm*, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maulā Ḥisāmu-d-dīn al Muwazzinī. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

4 A commentary on the book called *Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ*, *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 4.

5 *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 56.

In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms[1] (on him be the mercy of God!) was inferior to the *Miyāṅ*. The *Miyāṅ* was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,[2] the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the *Miyāṅ* in Āgra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from Shaikh Mubārak[3] of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the *Miyāṅ* said, "What sort of a religious teacher is Shaikh Mubārak?" I told him what I knew of the *Shaikh's* conduct as a *Mullā*, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, "Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the *Mahdawī* doctrines. Is this true?" I said, "He believes Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr[4] (may his tomb be sanctified!) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the *Mahdī*." He replied, "What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the Mīr?" Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr-i-'Adl*,[5] now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the *Miyāṅ*, was also present; and he said, "Why do they call Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the *Mahdī*?" I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad again questioned me, saying, "Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy of Khurāsān,[6] who held the title of *Ṣadr* for some time, one day spoke ill of the *Shaikh* to the *Khān-*

[1] *Scil.* the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. [2] *Vide* page 8, note 4.

[3] The father of Shaikh Abū-l-Faiz Faiẓī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl. *Vide infra*, No. III.

[4] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking. page 420, note 8, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v. [5] *Vide infra*, No. IV.

[6] Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 468, 471, 480. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called *Khāja*

i-Khānān. Do you know the reason of this?" I said, "The 68.
Shaikh wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the *Sunnī* congregation in the *Masjid-i-Ḥayy*.[1] This offended 'Abdu-'l-Ḥayy, and he attributed this advice to the *Shaikh* being a *Mahdawī*, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy." Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad said, "This deduction of the Mīr with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, 'You do not join in the congregational prayers: everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic: therefore you are a schismatic.' But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, 'The Shaikh assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands; anybody who issues authoritative commands is the *Mahdī*, etc., is unsound.'" The *Miyāṅ* then said, "I will seal this application for a decision,[2] but I will retain it in the same manner[3] as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn,

'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, and is said to have been an *Amīr*. He was for some time *Mīr-i-'Adl*, or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Mīrān Ṣadr-i-Jahān, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of Ḥāfiẓ,

در دور پادشاه خطا بخش جرم پوش * حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتي پياله‌نوش

'In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the *Qur'ān* has become a tosspot, and the judge a tippler.'

[1] 'The Mosque of the Living God.'

[2] استفتا (*istiftā*), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a *muftī*, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a *fatwā*.

[3] A word بكردي occurs here in the text, which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS. it is written بكودي, and it is thus written in MS. (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is بگروي 'as it were in pledge.' The omission of the second stroke of the *gāf*, though common enough in MSS. and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian *Maulavīs*

who is an accepted *muftī*, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) *fatwā*, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated *fatwā*"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a *fatwā* authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition,[1] and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a *fatwā*, and if you maintain that a *muftī* is competent to give the preference to a superseded[2] tradition. I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the
69. *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (ابوین),[3] in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word ابوین includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (ابوین) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) *Islām*," and it is agreed that the word ابوین here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained Shaikh Mubārak's application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to Shaikh Mubārak he was loud in his praises of

[1] These words clearly refer to some collection of *fatwās* compiled in the reign of a king of the name of Ibrāhīm Shāh, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the Ibrāhīm Shāh was in whose reign it was compiled.

[2] مرجوعة (*marjū'ah*). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. مرجوع (*marjū'*), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

[3] This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'

Miyān Ḥātīm's knowledge of theology and said, "Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise." When I showed the document to Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn he said, "As other *muftīs* had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part." The readiness of Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn, the *muftī*, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice:—

"At the head of that letter which Āṣaf wrote
He wrote, 'God had mercy on the most just.'"

Miyān Ḥātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given; the words, "With the King he is powerful,"[1] were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and *Shaikh*, but 70
not as *Mullā*. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

"How long shall I cherish by blandishments the complaisance of stony-hearted mistresses (idols)?
"These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father."

II. Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh of Sulṭānpūr.[2]

He was of the *Anṣār*[3] tribe. His ancestors came to Sulṭānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

[1] عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ. These words, which may also be translated, 'He is with the mighty King,' give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. ii (text).

[2] Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, Makhdūmū-l-Mulk, was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar, and the persecutor of Shaikh Mubārak, father of Abū-l-Faẓl. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 19, 44, 84, 151, 154, 198, 202, 203, 204, 209, 255, 263, 267, 270, 273, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. *Vide* also vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

[3] Apparently an Afghān tribe.

and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself, the best known among them being the books known as *'Iṣmat-i-Anbiyā*[1] and *Sharḥu Shamā'ili-'n-Nabī*[2] (may God bless and save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting place in paradise (*scil.* Humāyūn) he received the title of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk*, and also that of *Shaikhu-'l-Islām*. He always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law, and was a bigoted *Sunnī*. Owing to his exertions many heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of the third volume of the *Rawẓatu-'l-Aḥbāb*[3] that it was not the work of Mīr[4] Jamālu-'d-dīn[5] the traditionist. In the year[6] in which Gujarāt was conquered and while Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fatḥpūr, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjāb, went in company with Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Ḥājī Sulṭān of Thānesar to see Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawẓatu-'l-Aḥbāb*), and he said to us,
71 "See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have wrought in the faith," and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs in the encomium:—

"This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,[7]
That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

1 'The protection (or continence) of the prophets.'

2 'An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,' *i.e.*, Muḥammad, hence the benedictory phrase which follows.

3 A work by 'Aṭā'u-'llāh, known as Jamāl-i-Ḥusainī, on the history of Islām.

4 The text has *Amīr*. I have followed the reading of both MSS.

5 *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 449.

6 A.D. 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 142.

7 حق نمائي MS. (A) has حق آشنائي which will not scan, and may be taken as the gloss of a pious *Sunnī*, scandalised by the attribution of the Godhead to 'Alī.

and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his misbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a *Shī'ah*." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,[1] and had never met Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the *Imām Shāfi'ī*[2] (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary on Amīr's *dīvān*." He said, "The commentator, Qāẓī Mīr Ḥusain-i-Mīdī,[3] has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and Ḥājī Sulṭān,[4] with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work Mīr Jamālu-'d-dīn, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and misbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that 'Alī, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him!),[5] on the occasion when Ṭalḥah (may God be gratified with him!) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, "My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless," that is to say, that 'Alī Murtaẓā, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that Ṭalḥah's arm was withered—that arm which

1 This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is هرچند از حُبا ياي مجهول آمده. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word حُبايا.

2 The Imām Abū "Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Idrīs Shāfi'ī, founder of one of the four principal *Sunnī* schools of jurisprudence.

3 *Sic* in both MSS the text has *Mibaẓī*. 4 *Vide* No XXXVII.

5 The words "'Alī' and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.

in the battle of Uhud[1] was the shield of his holiness the prophet
72 (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that 'Alī should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so." I said, "There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury." Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. 'Abdu-'llāh said to him, "Tell me something about this person (*scil.* Badāonī); who is he?" He and Ḥājī Sulṭān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, "You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?" Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh, when he first set eyes on Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, in the early years of the Emperor's reign, said to his pupils, "What injury will this man not do to the faith?

"When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of the faith,
"(Saying) 'He will work mischief among the souls of men, to your guardianship I entrust him.'"

Maulānā 'Abdu-'llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,
As a sign on his forehead, (the words) "the mercy of God."

[1] Uḥud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madīnah, where Muḥammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muḥammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide *Qur'ān*, c. iii.

When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of these verses.)"[1]

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of mention; and here I may remark that all the rising generation give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none better than such fellows:—

I see no good in the world,
This seems to be the age of impotence.

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain king who was a bigoted *Sunnī* led an army against Sabzawār, which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The chief men of the place came out and made their representa- 73
tions to the king, saying, "We are Musalmāns; what fault have we committed that you should have brought an army against us?" The king replied, "Your fault is your zeal for schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has been brought against us. "The king said, "Produce from your city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abū Bakr,[2] and I will swerve from my intention of slaying you and of plundering your city." After much search and with much difficulty they produced before the king an unknown pauper, saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." After observing the man's old garments and despicable condition, the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

[1] There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1488 or 1093, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter ڂ in the word رحمة. The words مصرع ثاني ("the second hemistich") give the date 961. There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is indicated.

[2] The name of the first *Khalīfah*. The *Shī'ahs* do not give to their sons the names of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān, which were those of the first three *Khalīfahs*, whom they execrate as usurpers.

of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the *Maulavī-yi-ma'navī* [1] (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his *Maṣnavī* as follows:—

"This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
We, like Bū-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr.[2]

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music.
74. In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors he used to keep

1 Maulānā Jalālu-d-din Rūmī, author of the *Maṣnavī-yi-ma'navī*.

2 Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr was the father of Shaikh Faiẓī and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl. At one time he held the Mahdavī doctrines and was persecuted by Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Faẓl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the *'Ulamā*. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 32, 198, 204, 270, 312, 348; also *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdawī, then a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and then a Shī'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith.'

company with Shaikh 'Alā'ī,[1] and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the *Naqshbandī* order were in great esteem, he adapted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadānī *Shaikhs*, and at last when the 'Irāqīs were in great favour at Court he spoke as one of their religion.[2] "Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the *Ṣūfīs*, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had *Shāṭibī* by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious *Qur'ān*, according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes. Towards the end of his life, when his sight failed him and he was unable to read, he went into retirement and wrote a commentary similar to the *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*,[3] contained in four large volumes, and named it the *Mamba'u-Nafā'isi-'l-'Uyūn*.[4] The strange thing is that in the exordium to that commentary he wrote certain passages which seem to contain pretensions to the establishment of new principles in religion, and the innovations contained therein are those which are well known. At the time when he was enabled, by God's grace, to complete that commentary he used constantly to recite, with a view to reminding himself of what he owed to God, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Fāriẓiyya* in *ta*,[5] which contains seven hundred couplets, the *Qaṣīda-yi-Burda*, by Ka'b bin Zuhair,[6] and other epodes which he had committed to memory,

1 Shaikh 'Alā'ī of Biyāna, son of Shaikh Ḥasan of Bengal, for an account of whom *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i (biog.), p. v; also Badāonī, vol. i, trans. Ranking, 507-524.

2 *i.e.*, as one of the *Shī'ah* sect. 3 'The great commentary' on the *Qur'ān*.

4 'The source of excellent fountains.'

5 That is to say, a *qaṣīdah* of which the rhyming words end in the letter ت (*tā*).

6 *Vide* page 4, note 1. The text runs قصيدة بردة و قصيدة كعب بن زهير

until, on the seventeenth of Zī-Qa'da, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a *mullā* whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some
75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error." [1]

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yazīd,[2] in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yazīd and on his father!"

IV. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr-i-'Adl*.[3] of Amroha.

Amroha[4] is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemi-

as though two separate *qaṣīdah* were indicated. MS. (A) reads قصيدة كعب بن زهير and MS. (B) reads قصيدة برده كعب بن زهير. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this *qaṣīdah*, *vide* p. 4 and note 1.

[1] قُلِ اللّٰهُ وَ اِنَّا اَوْ اِيَّاكُمْ لَعَلٰى هُدًى اَوْ فِيْ ضَلٰلٍ مُبِيْنٍ *Qu'rān* xxxiv, 24.

The answer is to the question, "Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?"

[2] Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, the second *Khalīfah* of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muḥammadan history as the opponent of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, who was killed at Karbalā in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

[3] *i.e.*, Chief justice. For mention of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who was one of the *'Ulamā*, *vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 222, 245.

[4] Now the headquarters of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Murādābād

ous. He and the author's father were in their youth fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Badaon under Mīr Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mīr Sayyid Rafi'u-'d-din. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of *Mīr-i-'Adl*. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the *Qāẓī'u-'l-Quẓẓāt*[1] of the time, out of respect to Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mīr's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islām.

After the death of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad the title of *Mīr-i-'Adl* was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The *Mīr*, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long-standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any *madad-i-* 76
ma'āsh, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the *Ṣadrs*, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, for that the *Ṣadrs* were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The *Mīr* was appointed to the government of Bakkar[2] in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79).[3]

District of the United Provinces. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer* (new series), v, 330, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 289.

[1] Badāonī apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* who was chief of the *qāẓīs*. If this be so, the person referred to is probably Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī. *Vide infra*, No. X, or perhaps Qāẓī Ya'qūb, No. IX.

[2] He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the 'Ulamā from court.

[3] According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* Mīr Sayyid Muhammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaẓān 11, A.H. 983 (Dec. 14th, 1575) and died there Sha'bān 8. A H 984 (Oct. 31st, 1576).

V. Shaikh Gadā'ī of Dihlī, the Kambū.[1]

He was the son and successor of Shaikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr*[2] in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,[3] to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bīkānīr to Dihlī,[4] he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihlī he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

[1] Kambū (spelt Kambūh in vol. ii, *passim*) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrīs the third sets of scoundrels. Shaikh Gadā'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 16.

[2] Shaikh Gadā'ī was Akbar's first *Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, a very important post. The dignity of the *Ṣadr*, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 270. Shaikh Gadā'ī was, like his patron, a *Shī'ah*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*.

[3] صورت هندي مي‌بست MS. (B) has, wrongly, صورت for صوت.

[4] In A.D. 1560. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 38.

(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72),[1] leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all-wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of Shaikh Gadā'ī:—

"At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of grief,
"I ever grieve after thee, as I travel, stage by stage.
"Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,
"For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied with thoughts of thee.
"I have bound my frenzied heart in thy tresses,
"Myself am bound in those musky chains.
"If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of life
"No difficulties would remain to true lovers.
"Gadā'ī, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!
"I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my friend."

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gadā'ī's. But God knows the truth!

VI. Miyāṅ Jamāl Khān, Mufti of Dihlī.[2]

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, Shaikh Naṣīru-'d-din, and the brother of Miyāṅ Lādan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning

[1] In the former year, according to vol. ii (text, p. 119) where the chronogram مردهٔ خوک کلان ('You are dead, you great hog'), giving the date 976, confirms the statement in the text.

[2] *Vide Āīn-iAkbarī*, i, 544. He is classed by Abū-'l-Faẓl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, *i.e.*, as a mere theologian.

faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the *Qur'ān*, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*,[1] and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the book *'Aẓdī*, one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

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VII. Qāẓī Jalālu-'d-dīn of Multān.[2]

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar.[3] He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in Āgra for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of *Qāẓī*, after the dismissal of *Qāẓī* Ya'qūb. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of *Qāẓīs*, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to

[1] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

[2] Qāẓī Jalālu-d-dīn is classed by Abū-l-Faẓl in the same category as Jamāl Khān, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 546. He was appointed *Qāẓī'u-l-Quẓẓāt* on the degradation of Shaikh Ya'qūb for refusing to pronounce *mut'ah* marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. *Vide* vol ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

[3] Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar *Sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Multān, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 333. Now headquarters of the *tahṣīl* of the same name in the Miyānwālī District, Panjāb; *vide* Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), viii, 44.

the Dakan,[1] the rulers of which land, having heard of his staunchness to Islām and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

VIII. Qāẓī Ṭawā'isī.

Ṭawā'is[2] is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,[3] and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaikh 79
Abū-'l-Faẓl has said, "If the greatest of the *Imāms* [4] had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zamān broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,[5] and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāẓī Ya'qūb in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

[1] Badāoni here makes it appear that Jalalu-d-dīn's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 *tankas*. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted *Shī'ahs*, would have him put to death as a bigoted *Sunnī*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, 313.

[2] Probably the same as Ṭāwawīs, 'a dependency of Bukhārā, seven parasangs from Bukhārā,' *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, iii, 97.

[3] MS. (A) غدياي زمان as إغنيا بوزبان and MS. (B) اعيار زمان. Both of those readings are wrong.

[4] Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law, and founder of the *Ḥanafī* school of jurisprudence.

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100. Qāẓī Ṭawā'isī, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp *Qāẓī*. The Lakhnau edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* calls him 'Qāẓī Tawā'ish.'

IX. Qāẓī Ya'qūb of Mānikpūr.[1]

He was related to Qāẓī Faẓīlat,[2] and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the *Qāẓī'u-l-Quẓẓāt* of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the *Qāẓī* among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The *Qāẓī* takes mercury."[3]

After his dismissal from the post of *Qāẓī'u-'l-Quẓẓāt* he was appointed to be *Qāẓī* of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province,[4] and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'ṣūm-i-Kābuli in his rebellion[5] and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage

[1] Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Ilāhābād, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 164.

[2] Qāẓī Ya'qūb was son-in-law to Qāẓī Faẓīlat, *Qāẓī* of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāẓī Faẓīhat.' *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

[3] پارہ or پارا, a Hindī word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

[4] According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya'qūb superseded Ṭawā'isī as chief *qāẓī* in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

[5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Jaunpūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a *fatwā* or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islām, was lawful. It broke out in A.D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdī, Mīr Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, Niyābat Khān, 'Arab Bahādur, and others. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna

of his existence from this world, and joined Mīr Mu'izzu-'l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd.[1]

X. Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī,[2] the Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr.[3]

He was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Kango. He journeyed several times to the glorious city of Makkah and the delectable city of Madīnah, and there studied the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, and after his return he abandoned the mode of life of his forefathers, and, 80
objecting to the ecstatics and vocal music (of the *Ṣūfīs*) followed the rule of the traditionists, and busied himself in ceremonial and outward piety, cleanliness, purification and devotion. When he was appointed *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr* he distributed enormous areas of land to the people as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, pensions, and religious endowments, and never was there in the reign of any monarch a *Ṣadru-'s-Ṣudūr* so powerful as Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī, or one who alienated the tenth part of what he did in religious endowments.[4] For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet. At last, owing to the disagreements[5] of Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk and all the other ill-dispositioned *'Ulamā* the Emperor's opinion of him changed completely.

Couplet.

All those who seek for pride of place are fools,
Aye, those who style themselves the *'Ulamā*.

The chief cause of his fall was as follows:—When the Emperor, after his journey to Bāṅswāla,[6] halted at Fatḥpūr,

[1] It would appear from this passage that Ya'qūb died a natural death on his way to Gwāliyār, but from vol. ii, text, p. 277, it is evident that he was executed by drowning, as were Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd. This event happened in A.D. 1579.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490, 546.

[3] For a definition of the powers and duties of the *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr* or *Ṣadr-i-jahān*, *vide supra* p. 122, note 2.

[4] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 71. [5] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 255.

[6] In A.D. 1577, *vide* vol. ii, text, 242, Akbar returned to Fatḥpūr on

Qaẓī 'Abdu-'r-Raḥīm, the *Qāẓī* of Mathura, laid a complaint before the *Shaikh*, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the *Qāẓī*, had collected for the construction of a *masjid*, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the *Qāẓī* had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the *Shaikh*'s summons. The Emperor sent Bīr Bar and Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl to fetch him, and they brought him, and Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the *'Ulamā* were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The *'Ulamā* were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The *Shaikh* required the
81 Emperor's sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, "Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the *'Ulamā*; what do you require of me?" The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial *ḥaram* busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the *Shaikh*'s known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the *Shaikh*'s importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, "You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you." No sooner had the *Shaikh* reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

May 12th of that year, *ibid.* 248. Although the slaying of the Brāhman is here mentioned as the chief cause of 'Abdu-n-Nabī's fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 208, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islām is related. Akbar then accused the Shaikh of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar's) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.

matter was reported to the Emperor he was exceedingly wroth. The ladies of his *ḥaram* complained in private and the Hindū courtiers in public, saying, "You have pampered these *Mullās* till their insolence has reached such a pitch that they pay no heed to your wishes, and, merely to display their own power and authority, put men to death without your orders." They plied his Majesty with arguments to such an extent that he could endure it no longer, and the leaven of designs which had long been working in his mind at length fermented and overflowed. One might, at the tank known as *Anūp Talā'o*,[1] he set forth the whole case, and asked certain time-serving *muftīs* and stirrers up of strife for a decision on the question. One of them said, "The witnesses who have been produced prove that he has committed an offence against the person under cover of the law." Another said, "The strange thing is that Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī should claim to be a descendant of the greatest of the *Imāms*[2] (may God have mercy upon him!) according to whose school of theology the cursing of the prophet by unbelievers who have submitted to the rule of Islām gives no ground for any breach of agreement by Muslims, and in no way absolves Muslims from their obligation to safeguard infidel subjects. This question has been discursively treated in theological works, and it is hard to understand how the *Shaikh* can have so opposed himself to the principles of his ancestor." All at once the Emperor's glance fell on the author of these historical selections, standing afar off, and, turning to me he summoned me to him, saying, "Come forward." I advanced, and he put to me a question, saying, "Have you heard 82
that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions awarding the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty, *muftis* should give the preference to that one tradition?" I said, "Yes, it is just as your Majesty has said; but this question turns on the maxim "Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts"; and I translated the maxim into Persian. The

[1] *i.e.*, the *'Ibādat-Khāna* or 'hall of worship.' *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 201.
[2] Abū Ḥanīfah.

Emperor said, with evident sorrow, "Perhaps Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī was not aware of this ruling, that he put the unfortunate Brāhman to death. Yet how could it be so?" I replied, "The *Shaikh* is, beyond all doubt, a learned man, but he must have had some wise purpose in view, in knowingly giving an order contrary to this tradition." The Emperor said, "What purpose can he have had in view?" I said, "The closing of sedition and the uprooting of the germs of insolence from the minds of the common people." I also brought to his Majesty's notice the tradition of *Qāẓī* 'Ayyāẓ on the remedies of evils, which tradition had been laid before him in connection with this case. Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort said, "*Qāẓī* 'Ayyāẓ was a *Mālikī*,[1] and his decisions have no weight in a land of the *Ḥanafīs*." The Emperor said to me, "What do you say to this?" I said, "Although he was a *Mālikī*, it is yet permissible, by the sacred law, for a recognized *muftī* to pass sentence in accordance with his decisions." The question was argued at length, and the bystanders observed that the Emperor's moustache, during the discussion, bristled like the whiskers of a tiger, and those who were standing behind him signed to me to desist from argument. All at once the Emperor, opposing my decision, said, "What you say is nonsense!" I immediately made my submission, and retired and took my place in the circle of courtiers, and have ever since eschewed forwardness and the company of disputants, preferring retirement, and saluting the Emperor from afar.

From this time forth the fortunes of Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī began to decline. He withdrew himself from company and avoided it, concerning himself principally with his own claims to superiority and the repudiation of former decisions in legal matters, whether modern or ancient. He never went to Court.
83 About this time Shaikh Mubārak came from Āgra to Fatḥpūr to offer his felicitations to the Emperor on some subject or another, and the Emperor told him what had happened and asked him for his opinion. He gave his opinion authoritatively, saying,

[1] *i.e.*, a follower of the school of jurisprudence founded by Mālik bin Anas, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law. The Ḥanafīs are the followers of the school founded by Abū Ḥanīfah

Your Majesty is the *Imām* and *Mujtahid* of the age. What need have you of these *'Ulamā* for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor." The Emperor said, "Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these *Mullās*?" Shaikh Mubārak made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, aflame with rancour and contumacy, said, "Do you make a claim to religious supremacy, and demand from them an attestation of your claim." He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries.[1] Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī and Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the *Ṣaff-i-ni'āl*,[2] and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no,[3] as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign; and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Shaikh 'Abdu-'u-Nabī died in the year H. 991 (A.D. 1583).[4]

IX. Shaikh Aḥmadī Fayyāẓ, of Ambēṭhī.[5]

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

[1] *Vide* vol. ii, text, 270.

[2] 'The row of shoes,' *i.e.*, at the place where the courtier's left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.

[3] The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badāonī, in vol. ii, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.

[4] In vol. ii, text, p. 312, the date of the Shaikh's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کنبی) gives the same date. He returned to Fatḥpūr from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). 'On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his fist. The Shaikh said, "Why dost thou not strike me with a knife?"' 'Abdu-u-Nabī was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

[5] *Vide* p. 27, note 3.

path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious *Qur'ān* by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the *Qur'ān*, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muḥammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaikh
84 Niẓāmu-'d-dīn [1] of Ambōthī, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the *fātiḥah* after the *imām* (during public prayers in the *masjid*).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the *Shaikh* while he was employed in giving instruction in the *Sharḥ-i-Viqāya*. One of the *Shaikh*'s pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

"Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter,
And he said, 'Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father's mother.'
And I said, 'Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base?'

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be كَفْتَارَة or كَفَارَة [2] which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word كَافِر, "an unbeliever." He said that the true reading was كَفْتَارَة and that no other reading would make sense, for that كَفْتَارَة was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of كَفَارَة was more obvious than that of كَفْتَارَة,—but God knows the truth!

[1] *Vide* p. 27.

[2] كَفَارَة means 'an ungrateful woman' or 'an intensely unbelieving woman.' كَفْتَارَة appears to be an Arabicized feminine form of the Persian word كَفْتَار, 'a hyaena,' and, as applied to a woman, might be translated 'ghoul' or 'vampire.' The discussion between Badāonī and Shaikh Aḥmadī is of no practical interest.

XII. Qāẓī Ṣadru-'d-dīn,[1] some time of Jalandar, afterwards of Lāhor.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by *Ṣūfīs* and by orthodox Muslims.[2] He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so credulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic, who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands, and regard anything he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mysteriously attracted to God one day came upon the *Qāẓī*, and that the *Qāẓī* after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in 85
reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch, said, "Khiẓr [3] is always with me." The *Qāẓī* fell at his feet saying, "Show him to me." The heretic replied, "I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred *tankas*; when my anxiety is removed I will effect a meeting between you and *Khiẓr*." The *Qāẓī* at once gave him seven hundred *tankas*. Two days later the man came to him and said, "Come that I may show you *Khiẓr*," and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the *Qāẓī* was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the *Qāẓī*, "Come to me, for *Khiẓr* is here." The *Qāẓī* replied, "I cannot swim; how can I come to you?" The heretic replied, "Well, I have shown you the place where *Khiẓr* is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine." Many other stories,

[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545, where he is styled 'Quraishī' and "Abbāsi.' The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was for some years *qāẓī* of Lāhor.

[2] Literally, 'folk of the path,' *i.e.*, those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the Ṣūfīs, who discard them.

[3] *Vide* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.

even more laughable than this, are told of the *Qāẓī*, and to detail them would be to show the weakness of his intellect. His extreme simplicity can be estimated from the example cited.

When the Emperor bestowed[1] on the chief men of Lāhōr appointments in various parts of the Empire, and sent each one of them to fill some post in one city or another, Ṣadru-'d-dīn was appointed to be *Qāẓī* of the seaport town of Bahrōc, in the province of Gujarāt, and was despatched thither in that capacity. There he died, leaving behind him a son possessed of ability, named Shaikh Muḥammad, who now holds in that city the appointment held by his late father.

XIII. Miyāṅ Ilāhdād of Lakhnau.

He was one of those sages whose knowledge is always at command and ready for use. He possessed a naturally acute intellect and intuitive intelligence. In knowledge of practical theology and the first principles of that science, and of Arabic, he had no equal. He wrote a treatise on syntax which he named after one of the nobles, *Quṭbī* by name,[2] and which contained some evidence of its author's industry.

I went to Lakhnau at the time when Ḥusain Khān was gover-
86 nor of that place,[3] and met the *Miyāṅ*. Among his works there were two books which struck me as being wonderful. One was a treatise, written in columns, which covered a piece of paper capable of containing fourteen lines of ordinary writing, and as broad as it was long. In this treatise the leading principles and

[1] On the dispersal of the *'Ulamā*.

[2] A passage occurs here which I am unable to translate. It runs as follows:—

بالزام ایراد یصلح مثال درعین عبارت نه سابق و نه لا حق

Both MSS. substitute يصلح for يصلح, and MS. (A) substitutes عبادت for عبارت, but even with these variants the passage is obscure and the text appears to me to be corrupt.

[3] *Vide* p. 6, note 4. Ḥusain Khān was appointed to Lakhnau in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) and was transferred thence to Kānt-u-Gūla in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four *Maqāmahs* from a treatise in which the style of the *Maqāmātu-'l-Ḥarīrī*[1] was imitated, which treatise he entitled *Qīṭūn*.[2] He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His cousins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the *Qīṭūn* were written by Ḥakīm Zibriqī,[3] who, having come to Jannpūr, employed himself in collating books, together with the well-known[4] Qaẓī Shihābu-'d-dīn. These works, they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of Shaikh A'ẓam of Lakhnau, who obtained the title of *Ṣānī-yi-Imām-i-A'ẓam*,[5] and thence came into the hands of Miyāṅ Ilāhdād, who was a descendant of Shaikh A'ẓam;—and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV. Mīr Sayyid Jalālu-'d-dīn-i-Qādirī,[6] of Āgra.

He was one of the greatest of the *Sayyids* of Āgra, and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion, avoiding the society of the wealthy[7] and all pomps and ceremony, and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness, the *Ghauṣ*[8] of the Everlasting God, the pole-star (of religion) fixed by the Lord, the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, Shaikh Muḥiyyu-'d-dīn

[1] 'The assemblies of Ḥarīrī'; one of the Arabian classics.

[2] A Turkish word, signifying 'a border,' 'an edging of silk'; and hence, in analogy of the Arabic word حاشية, 'a supplement or commentary.' The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حرير (*harīr*) in Arabic means 'silk.'

[3] MS. (A) has زيرقي (*Zīraqī*). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibriqī elsewhere.

[4] MS. (B) has مسطور, 'above-mentioned.'

[5] *i.e.*, 'Second (only) to the greatest of the *Imāms* (Abū Ḥanīfah).'

[6] The Qādirīs are an order of *darvīshes*. *Vide* p. 12, note 4.

[7] MS. (A) has اغيار ('strangers') with اغنيا ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.

[8] غوث (*ghauṣ*) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muḥammadan saints.

'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jīlānī (may God be gratified with him and cause him to be gratified with us!), he received pupils up to the time when he bade farewell to this fleeting world. At this time his son, strong in the faith, Mīr Sayyid Dā'ūd, is the representative of his reverend father, and spends his life in holy poverty, indigence, and peregrination. As the auspicious splendour of his dread Majesty the Emperor and the pomp of the greatness of his glorious progeny shone with ever-increasing brilliancy over the horizon of the imperial domain of Āgra, the effulgence of this
87 unfortunate family has abated in splendour, and the families of other deceased saints too have declined in like manner.

Couplet.

"Hundreds of thousands of children were beheaded
Before he who spake with God[1] saw the light."

XV. Shaikh Ḥusain of Ajmer.

It is commonly reported that he was a descendant of that pole-star of holy men, and king of true lovers of God Khāja Mu'īn-u-'d-dīn-i-Sanjarī-yi-Cishtī[2] (may God hallow his soul)! Since the Emperor, in the days when he first began especially to venerate his holiness the *Khāja* of Ajmer, happened to slight the claims of the *Shaikh* (to descent from him) some perverse fellows, prompted thereto by certain *Shaikhs* of Fatḥpūr, men who have endeavoured to the utmost to depose and discredit those of their own class (may God reward them therefor!), gave evidence against his claim to descent from the *Khāja*, saying that his holiness left no descendants, and the *Ṣadrs* and *Qāẓīs* also issued decrees to that effect, being guided by their time-serving dispositions.

Hemistich.

"The age hath its raiment. Be thou clad therein!"

Thus the hereditary trusteeship of the shrine which had come

[1] *i.e.*, Moses. The allusion is to the slaughter of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh's order.

[2] The great saint of Ajmer. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 70, and note 2.

down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The *Shaikh*, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor's regal jealousy, both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened, could not endure the Shaikh's position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Bānswāla,[1] and, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Ḥijāz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return, on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fatḥpūr towards Kabul against Muhammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā; but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islām, new followers of a new order of 88 things.

The Emperor, after studying the page of the *Shaikh's* life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the *Shaikh* should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar.[2] There he spent some years, and at last, in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty's confidence, he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence, and, in company with some other prisoners, such as Shaikh Kamāl-i-Biyābānī, the impostor, some mention of whom has already been made,[3] and the *Qāẓīs* of Fatḥpūr, who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years, owing to the machinations of Shaikh Ibrāhīm-i-Cishtī,[4] and whose release had been ordered

[1] In A.D. 1577.

[2] Bhakkar. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 300.

[3] *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 300, 366.

[4] Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the son of Shaikh Mūsā and elder brother of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, to whose intercessions the birth of Sultan Salīm (Jahāngīr) was attributed. In A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) he was made governor of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the *qāẓīs* of the town imprisoned. He died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 402, and Badāonī, vol. ii, text, p. 374 *et passim*.

by means of the intercession of Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad,[1] he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the *Shaikh*, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor's displeasure with him was renewed, and the *Mīrzā* was ordered to have a grant of three hundred *bīgas* of land in Bakkar made out to him, as *madad-i-ma'āsh*,[2] and to despatch the *Shaikh* thither once more. Begum Pādshāh, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies' apartments of the palace in interceding for the *Shaikh*, and said to the Emperor, "My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no *madad-i-ma'āsh* from you." The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, "Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither." This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

On the night on which the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* summoned the compiler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in connection with the *Shaikh's* resignation of his trusteeship of the
89 shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the resignation), and retained the *Shaikh* in his service. He said to the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, "Where is that simple-hearted old man?" (meaning Shaikh Ḥusain). I reminded him that he was in Lāhōr, and urged the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, since I myself was unworthy to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

[1] Author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[2] A grant in aid of livelihood.

trustee of the shrine in that protected[1] city, and so restore to him his just due. But, since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust one another, the efforts of the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* availed neither in my case, unfortunate wretch that I am, nor in the case of *Shaikh* Ḥusain. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress, in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the nook of obscurity, unable to haunt the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf; while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes[2] of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But, to continue: the *Shaikh's* existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries. I was not personally acquainted with him till recently, but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light, and an angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters, either in public or in private. He is ever employed in austerities, in worship, and in striving in the way of holiness, fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire, in accordance with the text, "Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease, aye, verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease." It is my hope, too, that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet:—

Couplet.

When hardships press upon thee, think on the chapter "Have we not opened?"[3]
And the word "difficulty" lies between two repetitions of the word "ease,"
When thou thinkest on this rejoice.

[1] محفوظ (*maḥfūẓ*), protected, that is to say, from evil by the presence therein of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cishtī's shrine

[2] Literally, 'the house of intercession is ruined.'

[3] The ninety-fourth chapter of the *Qur'ān*, from which the text is quoted.

I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by
90 the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that, being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk, levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children, and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that shall serve me hereafter.

Couplet.

My purpose is, if it be possible,
So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was beginning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free grace I have been nourished?

Couplet.

91 "He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which last night
"I prayed, and the true dawn broke."[1]

These complainings are out of place here, but what can I do? My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and uneasiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused and forgiven.

[1] This couplet is from an ode of Hāfiẓ, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition of Hāfiẓ. For صبح صادق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition reads صبح آئین. without any variant. A fine MS. of Hāfiẓ in my possession reads صبح صادق. The same MS. reads گویا, or rather, as it is written, گوییا, for غالبا in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me. The Cawnpore edition of Hāfiẓ (1902) reads آمین for آئین or صادق.

Couplet.

"I am not one to weep from grief of heart,
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart."

XVI. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir.[1]

He was an inhabitant of Ucch, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shaikh Ḥāmid-i-Qādirī: may God make his soul fragrant!

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Āgra in the days when Bairām Khān, the *Khānkhānān*, was in power, I was a student, but I had not the good fortune of waiting on him. When Bairām Khān, owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons, the chief of whom was Shaikh Gadā'ī,[2] became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position, he began to regard the holy *Shaikh* with disfavour, and summoned him from Ucch. The *Shaikh* was much displeased, and declared that the order augured ill for his persecutor, and there happened to Bairām Khān what did happen.[3] But Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Bairām Khān to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy *Shaikh* Ḥāmid returned to Multan his soul, now resting on high, conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Ḥāmidpūr, a dependency of Multān.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Mūsā, regarding the title to the *Shaikh*-dom, and Shaikh Mūsā, consequently,

[1] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 544.

[2] Vide *supra* No. V.

[3] *Scil.* his removal from his position by Akbar. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 36. As a matter of fact many things contributed to Bairam's fall. He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster-mother arrayed against him.

spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir was at Fatḥpūr oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion, and one day in the hall of audience at Fatḥpūr, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the *Shaikh* busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, "*Shaikh*, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house." The
92 *Shaikh* replied, "Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force." The Emperor was much displeased and said, "What an ignorant fellow is this *Shaikh*." He then said, "Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." The *Shaikh* immediately left the assembly, resigned his *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Uch, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaikh Mūsā's absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaikh Ḥāmid to Uch, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any *madad-i-ma'āsh*. Now Shaikh Mūsā, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, "You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!"[1]

So long as Shaikh Mūsā was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the *Khalīfah* of the age, and none could gainsay him.

[1] Badaoni apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of *ci-devant* holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar. With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least one true Muslim.

When news was brought to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of his brother's new rank at Court, he said, "He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *jāgīr* in Multān, instead of causelessly quarrelling for so long?"

Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty, follows the rule of his noble ancestors and, sitting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship, in the practice of severe austerities, and in holy endeavour, so that his leadership in the religious world is established.[1]

Couplet.

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty **93**
and contentment;
Tell the king that our daily bread has been appointed for us by God.

XVII. Shaikh Kabīr.

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shaikh Bahā'u-'d-dīn Zakariyā[2] (may God sanctify his soul!). The people of Multan gave him the title of *Valī* (saint), and so great was their faith in him that he could, if he chose, assemble a thousand horsemen in one day. He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were, and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches, the common people believed him to be a drunkard.

"So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I
am beside myself,
"And for this reason men charge me with wine-bibbing."

Nevertheless, Shaikh Mūsā-i-Qādirī, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shaikh Kabīr's eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, "I fear that

[1] Literally, 'has been stamped as current coin.'

[2] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 133 and note 2; and *Ain-i-Akbari* iii. 362 and note 3. Badāoni does not, of course, mean that Kabir was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68. In the *Ṭabaqāt* Kabīr is said to have been an actual descendant of Bahā'u-d-dīn Zakariyā.

the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shaikh Kabīr, who is well known as a "Saint," and that the old poets, also, were like Shaikh Faiẓī and the rest of them." God forbid!

I saw Shaikh Kabīr once at Fatḥpūr, when I was with Ḥusain Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

(A fragment[1] from Sa'dī.)

"Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness.

"Believe him to be holy, and a pious man,

"If thou knowest not his actual state.

"What business has the police officer within the house?"

His death took place in the year H. 995 (A.D 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers (may blessing and peace be upon them!).

94 XVIII. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Lūdhiāna.

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shaikh 'Abdu-'r-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna, a noted *Shaikh*, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The *Mīr* passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the *Mīr's* companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muḥammad Ja'far, the relative of Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

[1] دوبیتی. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.

faujdārī[1] of the *pargana* of Shamsābad,[2] which was in the *Mīrzā's jāgīr*, and reached Lūdhiāna, he enrolled himself among Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's disciples, and, by God's grace, repented of his sins, and, leaving aside all[3] things that should be shunned,[4] and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the *Mīr* to offer up a prayer[5] that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The *Mīr* offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months Muḥammad Ja'far became so well known for his piety, abstinence, asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy[6] to many of the pious, and he, who used with much pride and pomp, and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers, now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant, and aroused nobody.

In a short time the *Mīr's* prayer was answered, and in a village 95
in the *pargana* of Shamsābād Muḥammad Ja'far attained to the dignity of martyrdom,[7] fighting manfully against the warlike infidels.

In that same year I waited on Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, on the occasion on which I, in company with Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of Ja'far, and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī said, "It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in

[1] The *faujdār* was the chief military and police officer of a *pargana*, or 'hundred.'

[2] Headquarters of a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Qannauj in the *ṣūba* of Āgra, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 185. Now a town in the Qāimganj *taḥṣīl* of the Farrukhābād District in the U. P., *vide* Imp. Gazetteer (new series), xxii, 229.

[3] جمیع, omitted from the text, though both MSS. have it.

[4] محذورات MS. (A) has محضرات which is not so good a reading.

[5] فاتحه the opening chapter of the *Qur'an* which is recited as a prayer with intention.

[6] غبطه. Badāonī always used the word in this wrong sense, *vide supra* p. 30, note 2, also vol. i, trans. Ranking, 395 and 543, note 4.

[7] In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), *vide* vol. ii, text, p. 376. Muḥammad Ja'far was the son of Niẓāmu-d-dīn's maternal aunt.

this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God :—'Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.'"[1] He then said, in this connection, "There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood, and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse." I said, "They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in these circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the *pargana* town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghān named Isḥāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Isḥāq's mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Isḥāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be?" Mīr Sayyid 'Alī answered, "They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason." Mirza Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad said, "It may be that a *jinn* appeared in the outward form of the Martyr." The *Mīr* said, "A *jinn* has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs."

The death of the Mīr occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men
96 of the time found that the words, "The religious leader of mankind,"[2] gave the date of his death. The *Mīr's* worthy son, Mīr Sayyid Maḥmūd, has succeeded him.

[1] بل احياء عند ربهم يرزقون فرحين. *Qur'ān* iii. part of *verses* 163, 164.

[2] شيخ انام This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).

XIX. Shaikh Mu'in.

He was the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the *Ma'ārīju-'n-nubuwah*.[1] Shaikh Mu'īn (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khalīfah* of the age, as *Qāẓī* of Lāhōr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case; it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return. do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojourning place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances. 97

[1] The 'text has *Mi'rāj*, but both MSS. have *Ma'ārij*, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."

"The living comes forth from the dead and the dead comes forth from the living." [1]

XX. Mir 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf of Qazvīn.

He was a *Saifī* Sayyid descended from Ḥasan. He was well-versed both in those branches of knowledge which depend upon the exercise of the reasoning faculties and in those which depend upon the exercise of the memory. Every step in his pedigree is historical, as Ḥairati, the famous poet, wrote in an ode in praise of Qāẓi Yaḥyā, the venerable father of the *Mīr* :—

"Tales of history should be heard from his lips,
For no one has seen his like in history."

He or one of his relations found the date of the perversion of Shāh Isma'il in the words, "the untrue religion." When he was arrested in consequence he said, "I said 'the religion' wrongly," [2] and obtained his freedom by this artifice. The *Saifī Sayyids* were all bigoted *Sunnis*, and Shāh Ṭahmāsp deprived them of their families and estates on this charge, and this was the cause of Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif's coming to India. I heard this from Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-din 'Alī,[3] who is entitled Āṣaf Khān. When Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif and his family fell into disfavour with the (Persian) king, Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah, the writer of the *Taẓkirah*, who was the younger brother of 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif and had been brought up by him, and who used to call him *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*, with some object of his own in view wrote an ode, declaring his complete separation and estrangement from his brother. One of the hemistichs of that ode is as follows :—

"I utter curses on Yaḥyā and on Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā." [4]

98 People said to him, "The *Mīr* brought you up by his side, why

[1] That is to say, the dead Shaikh lives in his works while from his living sons proceeds nothing but dead works.

[2] *i.e.*, 'I was wrong in calling it a religion at all.' Shāh Isma'il's 'perversion' was to the *Shī'ah* faith.

[3] The text omits '*Alī*, though both MSS. have it, and it is correct. *Vide Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

[4] Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah had apparently become a *Shī'ah*.

have you insulted him?" He answered, "Do you not see that I have shown my gratitude to him by mentioning him by the title of *Ḥaẓrat-i-Āqā*, while I have mentioned my father by his name only, without any honorific title?" To be brief, the depraved heretics worked on the mind of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and completely alienated him from Mīr Yaḥyā, and the *Shāh* sent a royal messenger, a man of devilish aspect, and in appearance like the guardians of hell, from Āẓarbā'ījān with a written order which ran as follows :—"Since Mīr Yaḥyā and his son Mīr Abdu-'l-Laṭif are full of zeal for the *Sunnī* persuasion, and are the chief cause of the staunchness of the *Sunnīs* of Qazvīn, therefore take both these men, and collect all the *Sunnī* books which can be found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and send them to me, and take their wives and families to Iṣfahan." Thereupon Mīr 'Alā'u-'d-daulah who was then in Āẓarbāījan sent a swift messenger with a letter to this effect, and the royal messengers arrested Mīr Yaḥyā who was known as "Yaḥyā the innocent," [1] and he was kept in Iṣfahan in bonds for eighteen months, until he was released at once from those bonds and from the bonds of this world of vexation and anguish. Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif sought safety in flight and withdrew himself for a time to the mountains, and, relying on the promise of his late Majesty, came to India where he was honoured by being received into the imperial service and was gladdened by the emoluments which he received through the boundless liberality and generosity of the emperor. His present majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the *Dīvān* of Khāja Ḥāfiẓ and other books.

On the 5th *Rajab* in the year H. 981 (Oct. 31, 1573) in the new town of Fatḥpūr Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭif took his departure for paradise, the abode of bliss, and obtained the everlasting blessings of the heavenly damsels and mansions, and was buried on the ramparts of the fortress of Ajmer close to Mīr Sayyid Ḥussain, "*Khing-sawār*." [2] Qāsim-i-Arsalān found the chronogram

[1] Or 'the divinely protected from error.'

[2] 'The rider of the grey horse.' Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain is a saint who has a shrine at Ajmer.

99 "The glory of the race of Yas"[1] for the date of his death.

Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf's fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mīrzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-dīn 'Alī-yi-Ākhund, entitled Naqīb Khān,[2] who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the *Khalīfah* of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever, but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. Khāja Muḥammad Yaḥyā.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy Khāja Aḥrār[3] (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and dis-

[1] The chronogram gives the date 981.

[2] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 441. *Ākhund* means 'theologian,' 'preacher,' or 'tutor.' Naqīb Khān was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Cishtī's tomb.

[3] The renowned saint Khāja Nāsiru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-'llāh Aḥrār. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 322

position were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his *jāgīr* was 100 spent in furnishing the table of friendship. He was the benefactor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the *Ḥijāz*. He was made "leader of the pilgrimage" and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned, and passed his precious time in Āgra, in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created, until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this abode of distraction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

Couplet.

They call to thee from the highest heaven,
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world of snares.

XXII. Shaikh Ḥusain of Badakhshān.

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstasy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the *Miṣbāḥ*, written by Shaikh Rashīd (may God sanctify his soul!), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the *Kibrawī* order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstasy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the *Maṣnavī* of the *Maulavī-yi-Ma'navī*.[1] His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang ever from spiritual knowledge, and

[1] Maulāna Jalālu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī.

affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some
101 Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir.

He is one of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, of Ucch, who was entitled his holiness Ghauṣ-i-Rabbānī (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fatḥpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of *Ṣadr*, and sent him to Shāhbāz Khān.[1] This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly[2] sent express messengers with representations containing full news[3] of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,[4] and Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad had the control

[1] Shāhbāz Khān Kambū; *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 399. Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbāz Khān was in Western Rājputāna.

[2] پیاي as in both MSS. The text has پیاپي.

[3] اخبار as in both MSS. The text has اختیار.

[4] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm: *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 334. It was probably in 1583 that Shaikh 'Abdul-'l-Qadir was sent to Makkah.

of affairs in Gujarāt, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the *Ḥajj*. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lāhōr, where he now lives,[1] engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

XXIV Shaikh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī. 102

He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the abode of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muḥammad, Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd[2] (may God sanctify his soul!). He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phœnix of the age, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self-effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport:—

Couplets.

"I am ever inebriated with the cup of love;
What should I know of 'this' and 'that'—
I who worship Dā'ūd?"

"How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech of all?
Nay, it requires the breath of Dā'ūd, which can soften even iron."

[1] In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

[2] *Vide* p. 47.

"I sit on the throne of poverty, now that I have attained my desire,
I reign like Sulaimān, for I am heart and soul the slave of Dā'ūd."

Quatrain.

"Lord, grant to me one glance of the eye which I desire,[1]
Grant to me freedom alike from being and non-existence,
And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,
103 Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dā'ūd."[2]

One of his sayings is this:—"Oh, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, be the slave of the Lord, the Most High, and be not the slave of money and jewels!" It is said that in the year of his auspicious birth he was taken to his holiness, the universally respected[3] Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (may God sanctify his tomb!) and that his worthy father asked the Miyān to give a name to his auspicious offspring. His holiness the Miyān said, "Let his name be Shāh[4] Abū-'l-Ma'ālī." As this name was very uncommon in India the bestowal of it has been regarded as a prophecy of the return of the Mughuls,[5] and of the appearance of the army of the emperor Humāyūn (may his grave be fragrant!) and a year had not passed when that emperor, who has now obtained forgiveness of his sins, returned to India, and (the spiritual influence of) Abū-'l-Ma'ālī placed him who had thus conformed to that influence in possession of the country of the Panjab. The words "Abū-'l-Ma'ālī, the Worshipper of God" were found to give the date of his birth. The few flowing verses quoted below, which are to be interpreted mystically and not literally, are some of the products of his bright genius.

[1] Or 'of my true object of desire.'

[2] In both MSS. the second and fourth hemistichs of this quatrain are transposed.

[3] Literally, 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'

[4] *Sic.*

[5] Because it was more common among them.

A fragment.

Ghurbatī[1] speaks in his religious ecstasy,
An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

Ghurbatī! Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
For the felicity of union with Him is not bestowed as a worthless gift.

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not thy lips.
Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold) air should enter it.

Ghurbatī! Raise the cry of 'I am God!'[2] and fear 104
not the stake,
For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path.

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of Souls
(We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know.

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles which he sent to me in Lāhor:—

Verses.

I increased my desire and my heart is in grief,
And within my bowels a fire is kindled.
When will the absent return from their long journey?[3]

* * * *

[1] The *takhallus* or poetical name of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī.

[2] The reference is to Mansūr, *vide* p. 37, note 7.

[3] These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is wanting in the text and the MSS.

"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who[1] asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the *Qādirī* order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them):—

Ho, ye (who hearken)! I wonder at all men.
And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is before me nor that which is behind.
And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but desire for you,
My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your eyes.
From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
That they are the objects of my regard both in life and death.
When Munkir and Nakīr shall come to me
105 I shall answer to Nakīr at the time of his coming, and to Munkir.
And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning them, for I am verily their friend,
And the bond of my love for them has suffered no change.
We all convey salutations to all of you.
Written by the humble Abū-'l-Ma'ālī."

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet:—

"As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before me."

[1] Both MSS. insert ('and') here.

"Salutations blended with the desire of seeing you and flaunted like the banners of the *Dā'ūdiyyah* branch of the *Qādiriyyah* order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulānā 'Abdu-'l-Ghafūr and Shaikh 'Umar, which can be settled by a moment's attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will, in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing."

XXV. Maulānā Jalāl of Tala.

Tala is a famous quarter of Lāhōr. The Maulānā is a relative of Ḥājī Mahdī, who was one of the most famous *Shaikhs*. He is now one of the most learned men of the time, and has been appointed as a teacher at Lāhōr. He is a pupil of Mullā Isma'īl of Ucch, and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary, possesses great acumen, and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional science. He is kind-hearted, pious and religious, and has the *Qur'ān* by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis[1] of Shaikh Faiẓī is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet.

What of argument regarding knowledge? Though it travel as 106
far as *Farqad*,[2]
The mention of the name of Maulānā Jamālu-'d-dīn Muḥammad will accompany it.

XXVI. Maulānā 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr of Lāhōr.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known

[1] The سواطع الالهام ('rays of inspiration').
[2] One of two bright stars near the North Pole.

for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the *Shaikhs* is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderful. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of supererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the *Qur'ān*, and whatever comes to his board is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the *'Ulamā* and the *Shaikhs* took place he was banished,[1] and having been appointed to be Qāẓī of Jaunpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilāhābad[2] the *Qāẓī*-ship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman *Qāẓī-zāda*, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulānā 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

XXVII. Shaikh Kabīr, son of Shaikh Munawwar.[3]

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this
107 condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, Miyān Sa'du-'llāh Banī Isrā'īl, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

[1] In A.D. 1579. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 277, where 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr is called *Gauldār*, i.e., wearer of a *darvīsh*'s robe.

[2] In A.D. 1583. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 334.

[3] Shaikh Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the *'Ulamā* of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made *Ṣadr* of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shaikh Kabīr himself died at Ahmadābād in Gujarāt in A.D. 1617.

courtier. May the most Holy God (be He exalted!) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the *pargana* of Bajwāra [1] and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows:—

Poetry.

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life, but my heart perished from me owing to the change which it suffered.

"May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health. Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection; but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head!) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity,[2] nay, by God! it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God! I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually-minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

[1] There were two *parganas* of this name. One was in the Āgra *sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Agra (*Āīn*, ii, 182) and the other was in the Bēth Jālandhar Dūāb *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Lāhor (*Āīn*, ii, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Hoshiyārpūr in the Panjāb. *Vide* '*Imperial Gazetteer of India*' (new series), vi, 220.

[2] كثرت The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.

none but He can cure. Cheerfulness,[1] contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavī, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāẓī,[2] that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of
108 his discourse!), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord's benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Aḥmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion."

XXVIII. Shaikh Sa'du-'llāh, the Grammarian.[3]

Biyāna is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaikh from his childhood was in the service of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,[5] and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days[6] and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on

[1] صفای وقت in both MSS. The text has شفای وقت 'remedy for my days.' I have followed the MSS.

[2] The poet Shaikh Abū-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, Fayyāẓī, elder brother of Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl. *Vide infra* chap. iv, No. cvii.

[3] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545, where he is called 'Maulānā Sa'du-'llāh.'

[4] Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *sūba* of Āgra (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* in the Bharatpūr State in Eastern Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), vii, 637, *s.v.* Bayāna). In the *Āīn* (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Āgra was a dependent village.

[5] *Vide* p. 6.

[6] باربعینات MS. (A) has باز تعینات by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.

milk, green vegetables,[1] and wild fruits. His liberality was profuse and open-handed. In the reign of Salīm Shāh[2] I went, in company with my maternal grandfather, to pay my respects to the Shaikh and took some lessons in the *Kāfiyyah*[3] from him. At last the Shaikh, withdrawing himself from all worldly concerns was overcome by stupor. He secluded himself alone in a room and would not admit even his sons to his presence, until in the year H. 989 (A.D. 1581) he departed from this world. He is buried in the hospice which he built. On the day of his death a sparrow fell down from the air on to the head of the corpse, and this was a matter of wonder to all who beheld it.

XXIX. Shaikh Naṣīru-'d-dīn.

He was a native of Hindaun,[4] and had the reputation of being skilled in alchemy. It is said that the Shaikh was constantly in attendance on the emperor Humāyūn, who has obtained forgiveness of his sins, both in court and in camp, and that when the emperor arrived at Āgra after being defeated at Jausā[5] the 109
Shaikh said,[6] "Something will be required for the maintenance of a fresh army," and accordingly collected all the copper pots, dishes, and other vessels which could be found and, in the late emperor's presence, converted them into pure gold. This matter was noised abroad, but when I inquired into the truth of it from

[1] گیاہ literally 'grass.'

[2] Son and successor of Farīdu-d-dīn Shīr Shāh, reigned A.D. 1545—1552.

[3] A famous work on Arabic grammar, *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 428 and note 6

[4] Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *ṣuba* of Āgra (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 183). Now the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* and *niẓāmat* of the same name in the State of Jaipūr in Eastern Rājputāna. *Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 135.

[5] Where Humāyūn was defeated by Shīr Shāh in A.H. 946 (A.D. 1539). *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 460.

[6] بشیخ فرمودند. Both MSS. have شیخ فرمود he said to the Shaikh.' In spite of the authority of the MSS. the context shows the reading of the text to be correct.

his sons, with whom I am connected by marriage, they told me that a *darvīsh* of great attainments [1] had given their father a basket, full of the ingredients necessary for the transmutation of the baser metals, and that to whatever copper this was applied the alchemist's object was attained, but that after their father had once mixed these ingredients with the copper he had no further power of manufacturing gold, as he was unacquainted with the science of alchemy,—but God knows the truth!

I saw the *Shaikh* in Āgra in the days when Bairam Khān was in power in the house of Sayyid Shāh Mīr,[2] the nephew of Mir Sayyid Rafī'u-'d-dīn the traditionist. He was an old man of enlightened appearance and of a good disposition. He died in those days, and is buried in Hindaun.

XXX. Shaikh Mubārak of Alwar.[3]

Salīm Shāh used to call him Shāh Mubārak, and used to place his shoes before his feet. The *Shaikh* generally claimed to be a *Sayyid*, and was in great repute among the Afghāns. Thus when their power was on the wane and they were fleeing before the Mughuls some of the Afghāns seized Shaikh Islām [4] of Fathpūr suspecting him of being a wealthy man, and, having confined him in a strange manner, carried him off to the fort of Rantambhor. Shaikh Mubārak went thither from Alwar by way of Basāwar, and was the means of Shaikh Islīm's [4] liberation.

Shaikh Mubārak twice attained the honour of performing a pilgrimage to the glorious *ka'bah*.

I was sixteen years of age at that time when, in company with my venerated father, I paid my respects to the Shaikh in Basāwār, and after that, in the year H. 987 (A.D. 1579), when the
110 emperor was returning from his pilgrimage to Ajmīr at which

[1] كامل العياري The expression might also be rendered, 'full of knavery

[2] *Vide infra* No. xxxviii.

[3] Then the headquarters of *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Āgra. Now the capital of the Alwar State in Eastern Rājputāna.

[4] *Scil.* Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī, of Fathpur Sīkrī. He is sometimes called Shaikh Islām,' and, by *imālah*, 'Shaikh Islīm (Islem).'

the whole of the *Qur'ān* was read, and was journeying to Fathpūr by way of Alwar, I was again honoured by an interview with the *Shaikh*. He had, in truth, reached perfection and was most liberal and open-handed. It is now [1] reported that he has recently, at the age of ninety years, bidden farewell to this transitory world.

XXXI. Shaikh Cāyan Ladh of Sohna.

(Ladh) Sohna [2] is a *pargana* town of Mewāt, eighteen *kurūh* [3] distant from Dihlī. There is there a hot spring, rising from a mine of sulphur. The water is green in colour and smells of sulphur. Even in the winter time the water is so hot that it is impossible to bear it on the body. Bathing at that spring is a remedy for scald-head and itch. The smell and colour of the water are clear proof that it springs from sulphur. On summer nights, too, small flashes of fire may be seen on the hills surrounding the town, though nobody kindle a fire there.

The *Shaikh* was one of the most famous successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz of Dihlī [4] and travelled resolutely in the path of poverty. He used to give instruction in *Ṣūfī*-istic books, such as the *Fuṣūṣ* [5] and the *Naqd-i-fuṣūṣ*,[6] to his pupils, who were seekers after the truth. The emperor, towards the end of the *Shaikh's* life, placed great confidence in him and sought the help of his auspices in several important matters of state. He appointed quarters for him in the *'ibādatkhāna* close to the imperial palace and

[1] A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

[2] Then in the Rewārī *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī (*Īn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 293, where it is called *Suhnah*). Now a town in the District and *tahṣīl* of Gurgaon, Panjāb. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii, 72). The text has 'Ladh Suhnī,' and the MSS. 'Ladh Selnī.' Neither MS prefixes 'Ladh' to 'Sohna' in the account of the Shaikh's life.

[3] In reality about twenty-five miles.

[4] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538.

[5] *Vide* p. 17 and note 8.

[6] 'The coin of the *Fuṣūṣ*.' Probably the commentary on the *Fuṣūṣu-l-Hikam* mentioned on p. 17. Both MSS. read نصوص (*nuṣūṣ*) for فصوص, the meaning of the book's title being, according to them, 'The coin of demonstrations.

used to admit him to private interviews at night, and the inverted prayers of the recitation of which the emperor was a witness became inverted in their effects.[1]

In the year H. 998 [2] (A.D. 1590) when the *Shaikh* fell sick of the complaint of which he died he sent for the worthy son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz Quṭb-i-'Ālam, who was then employed in the army, from Dihlī, and, placing before him the patched robe, the staff, and the other insignia of *Shaikh*-dom, said to him, "These were a trust which I received from your venerable father. You are more worthy of them than I." He then set out on his journey to the next world. The words "the truth of poverty" [3] were found to give the date of his death.

Shaikh Quṭb-i-'Ālam, guided by God's grace, retired from the
111 imperial service, and, obeying the call to follow in his venerable father's footsteps, guided his life thereby. He is settled in Dihlī, and is employed, by the emperor's order, in the guardianship of the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship [4] (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), rendering service to all who visit it. If it please God, who is honoured, he will be endowed with the noble qualities of his honoured father.

XXXII. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghanī of Badāon.

He [5] also is one of the successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz. In asceticism [6] he has no equal in these days, and in seeking solitude,

[1] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 286. Shaikh Cāyan Ladh (there called Shaikh Cānīlda, or 'Shaikh Jānīlda') ventured to prophesy that one of the ladies of the imperial *ḥaram* would bear a son. She bore a daughter, and the Shaikh was somewhat discredited.

[2] The text, while giving the correct date in words, gives it in figures, wrongly, as 989. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 373. The Shaikh is there called Shaikh Jānīladh' with 'Shaikh Cāyanladīna' as a variant.

[3] حقیقت فقر This chronogram, which gives the date 998, is quoted in vol. ii, text, p. 374, also.

[4] A large stone bearing a footprint said to be that of Muḥammad, brought from Makkah by Shāh Abū Turāb in A.D. 1582. *Vide* vol. ii, p. 310.

[5] MS. (A) gives the Shaikh's name here

[6] The text has ترک این here Some word has apparently been omitted,

he is the "Shibli [1] of the age. At the beginning of his career when he was a student in Badāon, he used to be overcome by religious ecstasy, and sometimes even in the midst of his studies on hearing the chanting of a mystical song he would remain insensible for a whole watch of the day, more or less. When his intimate friends asked him what he had seen to bring this ecstatic trance upon him he would reply, "I know nothing of it."

In consequence of the responsibilities which he incurred by his marriage, which is [2] a pitfall for enlightened seekers after knowledge,—

Couplet.

Who are the robbers whom we encounter on our road to God?
Those robbers are no other than women—

he came to Dihlī in search of a livelihood, and there entered the service of Tatār Khān,[3] the governor of the city, who, though clad in the habiliments of the great ones of the earth, was one of the godly. The Shaikh attached himself as a disciple to Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Azīz, and under him he studied all those books which are generally current and are included in the ordinary curriculum. He then spent several years in teaching, and was then suddenly drawn mysteriously by God's grace, and, abandoning all his occupations, he joined the circle of ascetic *darvishes* in the Shaikh's hospice, and employed himself in striving in the path of holiness and in self-mortification. After attaining perfection he left human habitations and took up his dwelling near 112
the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), in a *masjid* known as

but the MSS. give no help. The meaning of the passage is, however, clear.

[1] A famous Muḥammadan saint. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 59 and note 1.

[2] میگردد MS. (A) has میگیرد which is equally good and MS. (B) میکرد which is wrong.

[3] *Vide Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 424. Tātār Khān died at Dihlī in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79) or, according to the *Tabaqāt*, in A.H. 985 (A.D. 1577-78).

the *masjid* of Khān-i-Jahān. There he dwells in religious seclusion, and, in spite of his having a large family, he follows a religious rule, with a firm trust in God. He had not taken one step from the corner of retirement when in the year H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95) the Khān-i-Khānān[1] waited upon him, and asked him for his advice. He said, "Deem the following of the holy law[2] of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) to be of the first importance." At the time when this hastily compiled history was written Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak[3] and Ḥisāmak[4] of Banāras, men newly converted to Islām, who in the religious strife of these latter days are branded with the mark of eternal execration—

Maṣnawī.

Stand aloof from the *Sūfīs* of the city and the country,
All of them are unmanly wretches, devourers of men.
Whatever one gives to them that they devour.
Whatever lies in their power that they do.
They have no occupation but sleeping and eating,
They take no thought on the day on which they shall die—

for the purpose of averting from themselves their evil reputation and concealing their gross immorality, formed the design of dispatching a *farmān* summoning from Dihlī to Lāhōr Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghanī with one or two of his surviving children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter, for the purpose of urging him to submit to the new orders,[5] which they themselves had most readily and cheerfully accepted. The *Shaikh* wrote a letter to me setting forth his helplessness and asking to be excused, and accordingly, after many representations Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak was appeased, and abandoned his design, and he caused

1 Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm.

2 سنت with شریعت as a variant.

3 Aḥmad, the wretched little *Ṣūfī*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 405.

4 'The wretched little Ḥisām.' Possibly Maulānā Ḥisāmu-d-din of Lāhor, who differed from the other *'ulamā* of Lāhor. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538. The designation "of Banāras" may be given in contempt.

5 i.e., regarding the 'divine faith,' the manner of salutation at court, etc.

a letter to be written and sent to the *Shaikh* excusing him from attending in obedience to the summons and asking forgiveness for what he had done. Please God, the matter will end satisfactorily.

XXXIII. Shaikh Buhlūl of Dihlī.

He is very learned in the traditional sayings of the prophet. 113
Having associated much with men who are devoted to a life of poverty and self-effacement he has now, for some time past, recognized the delights of such a life, and, the grace of God helping him, has set himself to follow it for good, and has no longer any dealings with the worldly, but is busied in teaching and instructing his pupils.

XXXIV. Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq of Dihlī.

He has taken *Ḥaqqī* as his poetical name. He is a compendium of perfect qualities and a source of excellence. He gives instruction in all branches of knowledge, both in those in which the reasoning faculty is called into play and in those which depend on the memory. He has attained a high degree in *Ṣūfī*-ism, and among his works are the *History of Madīnah the Tranquil*, and a book on the modern *Shaikhs* of India, the date of the writing of which is given by the words *zikru-'l-Auliyā*.[1] From his earliest youth he has sought eagerly after God, and, on account of his long-standing friendship with them he was for some time the companion, in Fatḥpūr, of Shaikh Faiẓī and Mīrzā Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad, and by means of them I also had the honour of being permitted to wait on him, and continually enjoyed the advantages of his society. When a change came over the spirit of the time and the men of the time, all of whom are corrupters of what is good and compounded of the abominations of their own natures, and it was no longer safe to trust the dispositions of one's friends, the companionship of such a one and

1 The chronogram gives the date A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). I have not been able to find any mention elsewhere of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq's works.

such a one [1] became disagreeable to him, and, the grace of God influencing him, he was impelled to journey to the most noble *Ka'bah*, and he left Dihlī for Gujarāt, in the condition of one who is mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. Thanks to the good offices and assistance of Mīrza Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad he there obtained a passage on a ship bound for the Ḥijāz, but, being hindered by physical difficulties, he was unable to reach Madīnah the Tranquil (on its inhabitants be peace and salutation!), and he spent some time in Makkah the glorious with Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb of India, the follower of
114 Shaikh Raḥmatu-'llāh the traditionist (may the mercy of God be upon him!), who, having returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah with Ḥājī Begam,[2] came to Agra, where I drank some of the water of Zamzam [3] from his auspicious hands, and took some lessons from him in the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, by way of a good augury, and from him, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, that is, he received permission to give instruction in the traditional sayings, and then returned to his well-loved native land. Here he cloaks his *Ṣūfī*-ism by giving instruction in those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary course of education. His aspirations are so high that he will not, if God the most High please, be ensnared on his heavenly way, and fail of attaining his object.

At the time when he returned from Makkah the glorious to Dihlī, and I, perplexed and troubled in pursuit of my object, was on my way to the imperial camp, I had the opportunity of paying my respects to him for a few minutes, and after I had arrived at Lāhōr I wrote him a letter. I place a copy of it on record by way of invoking a blessing and as a memento:—

"After expressing my subjection to you, and the obligations which I owe you, I would represent that the affairs of this disappointed exile are, so far as is compatible with exile and dis-

[1] These expressions are evidently a subterfuge to avoid mentioning the names of the emperor and his favourites, such as Abū-l-Faẓl and Faiẓī.

[2] Daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother. She returned from the pilgrimage in A.D. 1574 and died in A.D. 1581. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 299.

[3] Hagar's well, at Makkah.

appointment, matter for thankfulness, and it is my hope that you too are constantly surrounded by God's protection. When you returned to Dihlī and honoured me for one delightful hour, that interview did nothing but excite my thirst and vehement desire for your society, and so much remained unsaid and unheard that I cannot express it. 'A year of companionship is but an hour' [1] as has been said, and I myself experienced the truth of the saying. Indeed, the same might be said even of lifelong companionship (between friends). They said, 'We have tarried for a day, or part of a day.' [2] This world does not allow us sufficient time for companionship, or the delights of the society of friends, if their friendship be true and its bonds strong: it may be that on the morrow, beyond the grave, we shall enjoy this companionship, 'seated face to face on thrones' [3] please God. To-day we must devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds and to directing 115
our aims aright. The time for true companionship will be the morrow, when presence and absence will be alike, and what we here call separation and union will be the same. May God (be He glorified and exalted!) grant to us some kind of affinity, even though it should be common to all, so that we may understand truly what sincerity really means. I pray you to keep your heart towards me, as mine is towards you. I have ascertained with the eye of certainty that the real meaning of affection and the true signification of friendship have implanted themselves in your nature, 'and praise be to God therefor.' May he increase them and not diminish them.' There was an honoured man, one of the dwellers in the two holy places, who used constantly to recite this prayer:—'O God! as Thou hast favoured so do Thou increase Thy favours, and as Thou hast increased them so do Thou continue them, and as Thou hast continued them, so do Thou bless them to us.' May God (be He glorified and exalted!)

[1] سنة الوصال ساعة. Both MSS. and the text have, wrongly, سنة الوصال سنة

[2] قَالُوا لَبِثْنَا يَوْمًا أَوْ بَعْضَ يَوْمٍ *Qur'ān*, xviii, 18.

[3] عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ *Qur'ān*, xv, 46.

increase, continue, and bless to us the gift of true knowledge and love, by the dignity of the chief of the first and the last of men, Muḥammad, and his family, and his companions, all of them! If you should ever honour your friend with a kind letter I hope that you will also honour and delight me with whatever holy news you may have of his holiness the Shaikh, him to whom all men turn, and who is named Kalīmu-'llāh (may God bless and preserve him!), and that you will convey to his noble presence a few words from me, so that I may not disappear from his memory. Much as I wished to write something on this subject my pen refused its office. Nor was there any need that I should write anything, for when the time came for me to make my requests of the Mīrzā [1] I composed some verses on this subject, moreover I wrote plainly that there was no occasion for ceremony. I hope that you will be diligent in delivering that letter. Farewell."

Shaikh Faiẓī, after his return from the Dakan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him).

Hemistich.

Our friend has this, and also that.

116 He sent several letters from Lāhor to express the strong desire which he had of summoning Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq to him. The Shaikh, however, was exceedingly vexed, and would not come, but sent letters containing excuses, and made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming. Shaikh Faiẓī then sent in reply the letter of which a copy appears below, and this is the last letter which he wrote, and what is written in it is written.

"My strong desire of seeing you, my spiritual friend, dear to the Lord (may He long preserve you!) was not of the nature of official or formal matters, that it should have been reduced to writing. At first I was not aware that you were sick at heart—

[1] Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

that heart which displays bounty—and it is probable that I may have expressed my desire (somewhat too strongly). After I became aware that you had closed this way of access I gave your wishes precedence over my own, and I trust that the odour (of this action) will be agreeable to you. My request now is that you should not give yourself over to melancholy in your place of retirement. Two or three days ago that choicest of saints, Miyān Shaikh Mūsā,[1] honoured my poor dwelling with a visit, and said that it was not improbable that you would be coming hither about this time. I pressed him to tell me what grounds he had for saying this, but he left the matter uncertain and undetermined. I swear by God, the Supreme Object of worship, that I gave him no hint of my own wishes, nor shall I do so.

Hemistich.

When the time comes for speech what need is there of a letter?

If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come it will be light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But if I had wings I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather 117
the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song of my desire. What more shall I write? Your pearl-like [2] petitions are few and far between. I pray you for God's sake close not the road against the caravan of my secrets. If it is closed from your side it shall not be from mine. Greetings. I send supplications to the Alexander of the throne of holy poverty, Miyān Buhlūl. In the past two days what is expressed in the following quatrain has come to pass in a certain connection:—

[1] Probably Shaikh Mūsā of Fatḥpūr Sikrī, elder brother of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī, but perhaps Shaikh Mūsā of Lāhor (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 539) or Shaikh Mūsā, younger brother of Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir.

[2] دُرّ دانا either *durr-dāna* 'seed-pearls' or *dardāna*, 'sympathetic,' or, 'grief laden,'

Quatrain.

"Faiẓī! Old age is upon thee, walk circumspectly,
Let each step that thou takest be such as may be approved.
Through spectacles of glass thou wilt perceive naught,
Tear a bit from thy heart and place it on thine eyes."

Glory be to God! That Shaikh Faiẓī has passed away and become a by-word, and as for these, the mention of whom is still among us for a few days, or rather for a few hours, who are they that we should waste time in addressing them where preparation is even now being made for our departure hence? All that remains to them is the wind of speech. How long shall we waste our time in measuring it?

Couplet.

It will not be long before no trace of us remains,
You have broken the flask and spilt the wine, there is no cupbearer (to replace it).

XXXV. Maulānā Ilāhdād[1] of Sulṭānpūr.

He originally came from Banoda, a village in Sind. He was a pupil of Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk. He is distinguished for the nobility of his descent. Although he was formerly much puffed up with the pride of learning and youth he has now gained experience, and his former pride has been changed for poverty and humility. For some time he held the appointment of *Ṣadr* of the *Ṣūba* of the Panjāb[2] but has now for a long time past held that of *Qāẓī* of the new settlement of the Ilāhābād,[3] and remains in the imperial service, contenting himself with the small allowance which has been allotted to him in that city, and refraining from constantly visiting the houses of the worldly. He is endowed with probity and is zealous in devotion to God.

[1] In vol. ii, text, p. 295, he is called Mullā Ilāhdād *Nabawī* of Sulṭānpur, and is said to be notorious for his evil disposition.

[2] According to vol. ii (*loc. cit.*), he was *ṣadr* of one of the Dūābs in the Panjāb, probably of the Jec Dūāb, between the Jihlam and the Cināb.

[3] Probably in 1583, *vide* vol. ii, text, p. 335.

XXXVI. Maulānā 'Uṣmān of Sāmāna.[1]

In those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty he was a pupil of Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk,[2] and he acquired those which depend on the memory from other teachers. He is a capable and ready divine, and very liable to fits of religious ecstasy. He is now in attendance on the imperial court. His understanding is good. He is inclined to religious retirement, and most of his time is spent in devotion. He was employed for some years, by the interest of Qilij Khān,[3] in the administration of some *parganas* in the Dū-āb. He has now come to court and is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*.[4]

XXXVII. Ḥājī Sulṭān of Thānēsar.

He has acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage to Makkah the glorious and Madinah the delectable. He is well-versed in those branches of learning which depend on the memory and was for a long time in the imperial service. He was employed for four years, alone and without any co-adjutor, on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is known as the *Razm-nāma*,[5] and what was begun by Naqīb Khān was finished by him. On account of an accusation of the crime of cow-killing which was brought against him by the Hindus of that *pargana*[6] an order was issued for his banishment to Bhakkar, and the Khān-i-Khānān, who was in those days in charge of the *Ṣūba* (of Multān), treated him with great consideration and kindness, and

[1] Then a *pargana* town in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dilhi. Now a town in the Bhawānīgarh *taḥṣīl* and Karnagarh *niẓāmat* of the Patiālā State, in the Panjāb. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 1.

[2] *Vide infra*, c. iii, no. i.

[3] *Vide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann), p. 354, also *infra*, c iv, no. xiv.

[4] His name does not appear in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* among the *manṣabdārs*.

[5] *Vide* A. A., vol. i (trans. Blochmann, pp. 104, 105(or), also *Badāonī* II, 302 (text). Ḥājī Sulṭān seems to have translated two parts of the *Mahābhārata*, besides some portions of other parts omitted by the other translators, who were, besides the Ḥājī and Naqīb Khān, Badāonī himself, who was much disgusted with his task, and Faiẓī, the elder brother of Abū-'l-Faẓl.

[6] Thānesar.

applied ointment to the wounds of his soul. After that land had been completely subjugated the Khān-i-Khānān took Ḥājī Sulṭān with him thence, and promised to procure the reversal of the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him. Ḥāji Sulṭān returned secretly to his native place, and the Khān-i-Khānān, after conquering the province of Asīrgaṛh and Burhānpūr, prayed in one of his petitions for the reversal of the sentence against him. His request was granted, and Providence watched over the *Ḥājī's* affairs, so that the emperor privately ordered Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl to appoint him *Karōrī* of Thānēsar and Karnāl,[1] so that he was freed from the fear that had beset him. He still holds the appointment of *Karōrī*.

119 *Poetry.*

"How many mysterious favours are bestowed by God,
The mystery of which is great to the intelligent[2] understanding!"

These events were, as one might say, comfort[3] after adversity. At the time when Ḥājī Sultān was translating the *Mahābhārata* one asked him what it was that he was writing. He replied, "I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue."

XXXVIII. Sayyid Shāh Mīr of Sāmāna.

He is a *Sayyid* of authentic descent, adorned with the excellence of learning and decked with the jewel of piety. His hand is drawn within the skirt of contentment, and he passes his time in instructing students, having his dwelling on the far side of the river at Agra, near to where the late Shaikh Bahā-'u 'd-

[1] Thānesar was a *pargana* in the Sirhind *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, and Karnāl was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Dihlī. Karnāl is now the headquarters of a District in the Panjāb, and Thānesar is the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* in the Karnāl District.

[2] The text has, wrongly, زكي for ذكي

[3] The text has فرج but both MSS. have فرح. Whichever reading be adopted the meaning will be the same.

dīn, the *Muftī*, used to live. Students and *Ṣūfīs* are gathered together in his hospice and profit by his companionship. He had one pupil, a one-eyed man named Maulānā Farīd, of whom it was said that, although[1] he had not studied deeply, as soon as a difficult question or subtle and obscure argument was propounded to him from any advanced[2] book whatsoever, he would at once call for pen and inkstand, and, having reduced it to writing, would solve it immediately, although he could not give the solution orally, or even read what he had himself written. Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh[3] and the whole of the *Ghauṣiyyah* order submitted themselves entirely to the authority of this (Farīd), so that their subjection to the Sayyid may be imagined. I have also heard that the same Farīd would in one night relate to Sayyid Shāh Mīr events that had just happened in the farthest parts of the world, east or west. Some attributed this power to the possession of a *jinn*, and others to other causes. In the year in which the emperor summoned Shaikh Ẓiyā u-'llāh from Āgra with great favour and kindness and assigned a place to him in the '*Ibādat-khāna* on an occasion when there was a gathering of the *Shaikhs* and *'Ulamā*, I one night in private questioned the *Shaikh* concerning the matter of Farīd the scribe, and, after relating what was spread abroad concerning him, I said, "Are these things really so?" The *Shaikh* first of all enumerated his own fragmentary writings and the works of which he was the author, detailed his own accomplishments and acquirements, and gave me a full account of himself, and then said, "In spite of all these favours which God (may His Majesty be exalted!) has bestowed upon me I cannot call myself so much as a gleaner (in the field of knowledge) after Shaikh Farīd, and all that you have heard of him does not amount to one hundredth part of the truth. His

[1] باآنكه MS. (B) has, wrongly, بانكه

[2] صفتيانه. This is the reading of the text. Both MSS. have سفتيانه "of or relating to one who is authorized to deliver a *fatwā*. The textual emendation appears to me to be correct, and I have accordingly adopted it.

[3] *Vide infra*, No. XL. Both MSS. wrongly insert the name as a headline here.

dignity is above it all, and he has attained this great good fortune by means of sweeping the threshold of the holy Sayyid Shāh Mīr. Now I had seen Sayyid Shāh Mīr before this at Badāon, whither he had gone on business connected with his subsistence allowance. A copy of the *Mashāriqu-'l-Anwār* [1] was between us, and we had much learned discourse. He certainly had the meditative faculty strongly developed, a pleasant disposition, a ready understanding and a good stock of knowledge, but I did not find him such a prodigy as Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh and other men had represented. As for the rest, God the most High knows the truth. It may be that he purposely concealed his abilities from me, but indeed what need is there to suppose that he might not have displayed to others those abilities of the display of which [2] he allowed me to be disappointed?

XXXIX.—Sayyid Yāsīn.

He is one of the cousins of Sayyid Shāh Mīr. He studied most of the books usually current, and acquired all such knowledge as is included in the ordinary course of education under Miyān Vajīhu-'d-dīn,[3] in Gujarāt, and also became his disciple in spiritual matters. He acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage of Islām, and studied the traditions in the Ḥijāz, and there received authority to give instruction therein. Thence he returned to India, and spent some time in Lāhor in the company of wealthy and powerful men, who were concerned with the affairs of the state. He then broke off his companionship with these men, and lived in Sirhind clad in the garb of *Shaikhs* and the raiment of those who follow a life of holy poverty, and for some time gave instruction there to his followers, who were clad in blue, and he also claimed to be a religious leader. Since he was ever desirous of going again to Gujarāt, and thence

[1] A work on the *Aḥādīth*, or traditional sayings of Muḥammad.

[2] The text has, carelessly, ازنچه for ازآنچه. Both MSS. have the correct reading.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 70.

to the two holy places, he could not rest in the district of Sirhind, and went to Bangāl, where he is now travelling. It remains to be seen whither his destiny will lead him and in what land he will at last find the happiness of retirement.

XL.—Shaikh Ẓiya'u-'llāh.

He is the successor of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ.[1] Few of the *Shaikhs* of this age can be his equals in *Sūfī*-istic converse. In his assembly the talk was ever of "true knowledge," and nothing was spoken of save the contemplation of unity and the asceticism of the *Sūfīs*, but who knows what his private opinions may be,[2] or to what extent he will carry his claims? At the beginning of his career, when the report of him was spread abroad in all the surrounding country, I heard that the *Shaikh* had succeeded his father in the throne of holy poverty and religious leadership and that in some accomplishments [3] he excelled him, for instance, that he could explain the meaning of the *Qur'ān* in such a manner that there was no need of a commentary,[4] besides having committed the *Qur'ān* to memory, so that he had it on the tip of his tongue. Accordingly in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) I went to visit him in Āgra, and that without [5] the intervention of any person to introduce me and to act as a mentor, and in the character of one who was altogether free from ceremony and had been long disappointed of his object, a character to which I had accustomed myself. Indeed, in visiting holy men worldly means and the intervention of men interested in externals only are disturbing elements in the attainment of one's object. I made the usual salutation and I had a conversation with him face to face. The *Shaikh* himself, from the high consideration in which he was held, was probably

[1] *Vide* p. 6.

[2] MS. (B) has و بر باطن وی کسي اگاه نیست which is nonsense. بر باطن کسي گاه نیست

[3] فضیلت. MS. (A) has فضیلتها.

[4] احتیاج تفسیري. MS. (A) has احتیاجي به تفسیري.

[5] بي وسیلهٔ. MS. (B) has به وسیلهٔ which is wrong.

a slave to those ceremonial observances dear to *Shaikhs'* sons, and my unceremonial manner of visiting him displeased him. Those who were present in his assembly said to me, "Where do you come from?" I said, "From Sahsarām."[1] When they asked me whether I had made any advance in the study of the sciences, I said that I had, at one time or another, studied a little of each one of them. Since Sahsawān is an inconsiderable town and at that time Qilīj Khan,[2] Caugān Begi, the disciple of the *Shaikh*'s father, was *jāgirdār* of that place, I was of small account in his eyes, and he esteemed me lightly and began to jest with me and mock me, and made a sign to a jester who was present, prompting him to scare me and turn me out of my place, but I, becoming aware of these proceedings, the like of which I had often witnessed, pretended that I had noticed nothing and posed as an innocent fool. The jester then began his pranks, saying, "the odour of some sweet scent has reached my nostrils, and my brain is becoming disordered, let those who are present in the assembly have a care, lest I do some one a mischief." He then began to foam at the mouth and one of the *Shaikh* s companions, who posed as a *Ṣūfī*, asked me whether I had applied the scent to myself. I said, "Yes; but what is the matter?" He said, "This person whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now, whenever he smells a sweet scent he falls to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog, and tries to bite people. Have a care for yourself." Those who were present there began to flee and the *Shaikh* too, inaugurating this new custom, joined with them in setting himself knowingly to terrify me, and became the accomplice[3] of those devilish men. At that moment I said, "It is strange that men travel from distant lands to this exalted

1 Then a *parganā* town in the Ruhtās *sarkār* of the *ṣuba* of Bihār, now the headquarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād District of Bengal. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 111. Shīr Shāh of Dihlī and his father, Hasan Shāh Sūr, are buried at Sahsarām.

2 *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 34, 354.

3 The text has here, wrongly, موانقت. The reading of the MSS. (موافقت) is correct.

threshold in order to obtain the fulfilment of their desires when, as a matter of fact, one who has been bitten by a mad dog cannot find a remedy here." The *Shaikh* asked me whether I knew of a remedy, and, on my replying that I did, asked me what it was. I replied, "This man should be beaten on the head with shoes and clods, as *Shaikh* Sa'dī (may God have mercy upon him!) said:—

HEMISTICH.

"The cure for a rabid dog is a clod!"

They were all astonished, and I continued, "The strange thing is," I said, "that *kulūkh* is also the name of a vegetable drug, which is a remedy for the bite of a dog." The *Shaikh* then became uneasy,[1] fearing that his jest had fallen flat, and said, "Come, let us go and busy ourselves with the study of the words of God and His prophet." Then, taking a copy of the glorious *Qur'ān* he proceeded to expound a verse from the chapter of "The Cow,"[2] and in doing so exercised the right of private judgment very freely.[3] His pupils, blockheads that they were, assented to every absurdity that he concocted, saying, "We believe it, we accept it!" I, since my heart was full (of indignation) said, "Perhaps this interpretation which is given by the *Shaikh* is to be found in the commentary." He replied, "I am speaking of the secondary meaning[4] of the text and what may be inferred from it,[5] and this is a common practice and by no means a peculiarity of my own." I said, "Taking this for granted, is your interpretation literal or the metaphorical meaning of the text?" He replied, 'The metaphorical meaning." I replied, "Pray then explain the connection between the two interpretations," and led him on into an argument regarding the meanings

1 نرشدہ is the reading of both MSS. and is correct. The editor of the text, apparently not understanding the idiom, has altered it to نرسیدہ.

2 The second chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

3 عندی عندیات گوناگون میگفت means 'from me.' It is here expressively used as a substantive 'from me-ism, 'invention.'

4 تاویل The word signifies 'turning language from its obvious meaning.'

5 اشارت 'sign,' i.e. what the text indicates by implication

of the text. He replied disconnectedly and glanced, in an agitated manner, in all directions. When I held him firmly to the point he lost his temper. and said, shutting up the *Qur'ān*, "I have not studied dialectics." I said, "You have presumed so far as to interpret a text of the *Qur'ān* in a manner unsupported by tradition, and it is necessary that the connection between the literal interpretation and (your) metaphorical interpretation should be investigated." He then turned the subject and began to ask me about myself. In the meantime I produced a portion of a commentary which I had written on the *Qaṣīdatu'l-Burdah*,[1] and called his attention to the expressions in the opening couplet of that *qaṣīdah* which had struck me. He praised my work, and himself also said something on the same subject, and our interview came to an end in that manner. This was all I saw of him until the time when I entered the imperial service, when the *Shaikh* in obedience to a summons from the Court came alone and helpless to the *'Ibādat-khāna*, where he took his place. It was on a Friday when the *Shaikh* with one or two of his intimate companions first entered the *'Ibadat-khāna* and Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-'d-din 'Alī the theologian,[2] Mirzā Ākh'und, and Mirzā 'Alī Āṣaf Khān[3] had been ordered to examine the *Shaikh* thoroughly and to question him on his *Ṣūfī*-ism, in order to see what he would let fall. Āṣaf Khān introduced into the conversation the following quatrain from the *Liwā'iḥ*,[4]

"If thoughts of the rose pass in thy heart. thou becomest a rose,
If thoughts of the passionate nightingale pass, thou becomest a nightingale,
Thou art only an atom, God is all,
If thou accustom thyself to meditate on Him who is all in all, thou wilt become all."

[1] *Vide* p. 4, note 1.

[2] Probably Naqīb Khān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 447.

[3] Āṣaf Khān's name was Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī also, and both MSS. insert his full name. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

[4] The *Liwā'iḥ* is a mystical poem by the great poet Mullā 'Abdu-r-Raḥman-i-Jāmī.

He then asked, "How can God the most Holy be described as "all" or "the whole," since He is above being defined as a part or the whole?" The *Shaikh* who had undergone much tribulation before coming to Court, and whose pride, haughtiness and self-conceit were completely broken, since he had endured much trouble, was[1] very modest and indistinctly muttered a few words which nobody understood. At last I, growing bold, ventured to say, "Although the Maulavī Jāmī (may his tomb be sanctified!) has in this quatrain applied the expression "the whole" to God the most Holy and most High, yet he has in another quatrain spoken of Him as being divisible into parts, and far be that from the most High!

Quatrain.

"As for this love which is a part of the Indissoluble One (whom) we (love)
God forbid that it should be comprehended of our intelligence,
Happy will it be for us if there flash a ray from the light of certainty
Which will free us from the darkness of our doubts."

The meaning of these passages is that whatever can be conceived, whether it be the whole or a part, is nothing but God, and that besides Him there is no true existence. In short, since words fail to express the writer's meaning adequately he uses them in various senses, explaining (God's existence) sometimes as a whole and sometimes as (possessing) parts." I then adduced several propositions regarding the inherent unity of essence, a principle which had at that time become ingrained in me, and called upon the *Shaikh* to corroborate my arguments, and both the emperor and the *Shaikh* were well pleased with my discourse. About this time Shaikh Isma'īl, the half-brother of the *Shaikh*, near whom I lived in the quarter of the Kh'āja-yi-Jahān in Fathpūr, and with whom I was on terms of intimate

[1] The text has, wrongly, بود. Both MSS. have بود.

companionship, took me, in obedience to Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh's wish, to the *'Ibādatkhāna*, and there introduced me to him, and related to him the story of my meeting with him eleven years before, which he had heard from me. Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh was much perturbed and said that he did not remember that any such thing had happened. The *Shaikh*, although he pretends to refrain from company, which is really self-advertisement, now lives in Āgra, in outward appearance, like his father, one of the holy men, while on the contrary he spends his time in self-indulgence and idleness, clad in the raiment of men of rank, and retains his old habits, many strange utterances, calculated to deceive the vulgar, and delivered with apparent simplicity, being reported. I have not space to record them.

Mīr Abū'l-Ghaiṣ of Bukhārā [1] (may the mercy of God be upon him!) used to say, "Let him be what he may, with his devotee's raiment, his assemblies of those vowed to holy poverty, and his discourses on mysticism. We believe in him with our whole heart!"

In the year in which the Khān-i-Zamān was defeated [2] Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh accompanied the army to Ambeṭhī, and had an interview with his holiness Miyān Shaikh Niẓāmu-'d-dīn (may his tomb be sanctified!). When the Miyān was commenting on the blessed verse, "And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zanjabīl, a fountain in paradise named Salsabīl," [3] Shaikh Ẓiyā'u-'llāh, with a view of displaying his ability, interrupted the discourse, and said, "There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the *Qur'ān*." The *Miyān* was moved to anger and said, "Holy is God! The father dived in that (sea of doubt) and must now be feeling the utmost need of intercession, and the son here sets himself to prove discrepancies between the words of God (be He honoured and glorified!)"

[1] *Vide infra*, No. XLI.

[2] A.D. 1567. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100.

[3] ويسقون فيها كاسا كان مزاجها زنجبيلا عينا فيها تسمى سلسبيلا *Qu'rān* lxxvi, 17,

Hemistich. 126

Everything that is in the heart is not instruction!

XLI. Mīr Abū'l-Ghaiṣ of Bukhārā.

He was a high-minded man and a follower of the pure religion who had so acquired angelic qualities that they became, as it were, ingrafted in his noble nature. Though clad in the outward garb of wealth he possessed the inward attributes of holy poverty. From association with many of the great *Shaikhs* of his time he had profited much, and had inherited much of the customs of his noble ancestors. In good breeding, but especially in liberal disbursement of his substance,[1] in independence of character, good fellowship, and uprightness in his dealings, he was one of the noblest of God's works. He followed the ceremonial observances of the law and imitated the laudable qualities of the ancients and their successors so closely that he omitted not the observance of one tittle of the holy law.[2] Such were his endeavours to fulfil all the requirements of the law of the congregation [3] that even in the time of his mortal sickness, when he was suffering from a painful chronic disorder he did not omit the recital of the "*Allāhu Akbar*" [4] at the commencement of his prayers. The conversation in his assemblies consisted always of texts from the *Qur'ān*, traditional sayings of the prophet, and the words of holy men. He died in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587),[5] and the words "The Mīr of laudable qualities" [6] were found to give the date of his death.

[1] بذل و إنفاق MS. (A) has, wrongly, بذل و إتفاق

[2] The text here has سرعی, evidently a misprint for شرعی, the reading of both MSS.

[3] سنت جماعت the law as interpreted by the *Sunnis*.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 36, n. 4.

[5] These words "He died * * 995" are omitted from the text, though they appear in both MSS.

[6] میر ستودۂ سیر 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.

XLII. Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain of Shīrāz.

When the heart in calling loved ones to remembrance blossoms like the rose it is not becoming that the dust of vexation should reach or settle upon the hearts of friends even though the account of their lives be somewhat prolonged.

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is the worthy son of Maulānā Ḥasan of Shīrāz who at the time when Shāh Isma'īl was expelled from Shīrāz went to Makkah the glorious, and on his return thence came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī,[1] and, accompanying the caravan of Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn the traditionist,[2] and Miyān Abū-'l-Fatḥ of Khurāsān, the father of Miyān Budh, he took up his residence in Agra. The famous and well-known Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn[3] praises him as follows:—

127 "My verse is of both reason and tradition, therefore I would that it should be hearkened to
By him who combines the knowledge of sciences both of reason and tradition, Maulānā Ḥasan."

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain is an angel in the form of a man, whose laudable qualities and praiseworthy attributes are more than can be either written or related. The emperor, recognizing that he was distinguished for his greatness and loftiness (of mind), was exceedingly desirous that he should enter the imperial service. At last he abandoned everything, and contenting himself with a small grant of land for his subsistence found complete happiness in the exile of poverty and the honour of good faith, and spends his time in continual devotion. He lives, free from care, sometimes in Dihlī and sometimes in Agra. From earliest youth till old age he has walked unintermittently in the path of devotion, reciting the praises of God, giving alms, reciting set portions of the word of God, and reading the Qur'ān, knowing no other habit of life; but with all this excellence and perfection

[1] Reigned from Dec. 1488 to Jan. 1517.

[2] *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 476, and note 5.

[3] Probably Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn *Vafā'ī*. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 609, and note 5.

in religious matters he has the highest ability, and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship, skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance.

When I first came to Agra in my youth, in the time of Bairam Khān, the first place where I lodged was his *masjid*, where bounty was bestowed upon me, and his dwelling, where my soul was cherished, and there, in my opinion, the gates of happiness were first opened to me.

From that time till the time of writing this hasty memoir a period of full forty years has elapsed, during which time I have observed that his kindness, sympathy, and regard for my friendship have increased daily, although (I could) not (have believed that) there was room for any increase:—

Poetry.

Enough of love, for that grows less, enough of beauty, for that decays.
But my love for thee and thy beauty remain undiminished —nay, have increased.

What now follows is a few drops distilled from his musk-diffusing pen, now incorporated by me, in this record of friendship. They are as follows:—

"In[1] the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! 128
We bless his prophet, the gracious one, and love for thee has not waned but its strength is increased towards thee,

and my desire towards thee is as it is.

[1] This is a letter from Kamālu-'d-dīn Ḥusain to Badāoni. The style is stilted and bombastic in the original and must necessarily appear more so in the translation, but as the substance of the letter is of no importance I have preferred to render it literally. As is usual in epistles of this nature, the writer refers both to himself and to the person whom he addresses in the third person, using in the latter case the plural of respect. As this plural cannot be used in English the continued use of the third person is apt to be confusing. I have, therefore, retained it in the exordium only, except where honorific titles appear in the body of the letter.

This atom of dust, inconsiderable and full of defects and blemishes, Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, after conveying to you the greetings of an exile and the salutations of one who longs to see you, with the tongue of abridgment and brevity, of supplication and poverty, conveys to the enlightened mind, coruscating with benignity, namely, the mind of my worshipful master, the resort of clemency (may God save and preserve him and bestow on him all that pertains to matters both of religion and of the world!), the intelligence that since in these mournful days the hardships of loneliness and the grief of separation, the anxiety of religious duties and the absence of all traces of love and friendship have become my lot, I have sometimes in my restlessness travelled to the imperial city of Dihlī and have there acquired the honour of visiting the blessed tombs (of the Saints), and at other times have gone to Agra to see my friendless children (may God guard them with his power!) who dwell there in retirement, and I was much disturbed in mind, when those kind letters from my lord[1] began to arrive at irregular intervals. I swear by God that they conveyed very much consolation and comfort to my mournful heart, and for some days I took delight in studying and repeating them, and morning and evening I raised and still raise my hands in prayer to the All-Wise, praying Him to grant length of life to my lord[1]:—

Hemistich.

(I pray to) God that thou mayest live till the day of resurrection.

But I will not dilate further on this subject, and will commit it to the care of the All-Wise God who knows the truth, and passing to my ulterior (outward) object, will bring it to your consideration,[2] informing you that for a long time I endured

[1] The word used here is خُدّام, '(my lord's) servants.' The writer affects, as is usual in the language of oriental compliment, to be unworthy to mention the name of the person whom he addresses, and therefore speaks of his 'servants.' The best-known example of this idiom is the phrase بندگان عالي ('the exalted slaves') for 'his majesty,' or 'your majesty.'

[2] مصدع میگردد, literally 'I become the means of giving you a headache.

great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him who had acquired all perfections, Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord.[1] "Verily we are God's, and to Him do we return!" What can I say, and to whom can I confide these griefs, which assail me 129
incessantly and repeatedly? At all events we are awaiting our own death, and we have no resource but the favour of the bountiful God. My tongue is now ever chanting this prayer, "O God have mercy upon us, behold the sweat of our brows and the multitude of our groans! May the physician be disappointed of us, and may our friends weep for us! O God, have mercy upon us when the earth surrounds us, and our friends love us! Scatter Thy favours among us, and may the wind cease to blow upon us!" I hope that our end will be good and that we shall preserve our faith unblemished. Since the bearer of this letter was in great haste to depart I have written it hurriedly at night, and have not been able to explain one thousandth part of the desire which I have towards your service. You will be able to conceive it in your pure heart, for verily hearts have intercourse one with another. Salutations and honour be upon you and on him who is with you, both first and last, both inwardly and outwardly."

XLIII. Shaikh Abū-'l-Fatḥ of Thānēsar.

He is one of the foremost[2] among the wise men of the age and one of the chief among profound and eminent scholars. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Islamic tradition under Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn the traditionist, and has now dwelt for about fifty years in the quarter named after the above-mentioned *Mīr* in Agra, engaged in teaching those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty as well as those which depend upon the memory. Many able and ready scholars have sat at his feet and have gone out into the world (with the fruits

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 of p. 78.

[2] فحول. Literally 'males,' 'virile men.'

of his teaching). Both I and Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, just mentioned, shared the benefits of being taught by this great man. His most noble and orthodox son, Shaikh ʿĪsā, is now, by the emperor's appointment, the authorized deliverer of *fatwās*[1] in Agra.

XLIV. Maulānā ʾUṣmān of Bangāl.

130 He was an old *Shaikh* who took up his residence in Sambhal. Miyān Ḥātim of Sambhal[2] was his pupil, and used sometimes to visit him and request him to put up a *fātiḥah* on his behalf. On one occasion I, when I was in attendance on the late Miyān Ḥātim in my childhood, had the honour of waiting upon the Maulānā.

XLV. Shaikh Ḥusain of Bazhar.[3]

He was one of the foremost among the distinguished men (of his day) and was employed in the instruction of students in the college of the imperial city of Dihlī. In those branches of knowledge which depend on the memory and which are usually studied in India, he was the most accomplished man of his time. He had a generous disposition.

XLVI. Maulānā Ismāʿīl the ʿArab.[4]

He was one of the contemporaries and equals in age of Shaikh Ḥusain. In knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine he was unequalled, and as a teacher he was associated with Shaikh Ḥusain, and by the blessing of their noble companionship the doors of bounty were opened to students. The *Maulavī* was possessed of considerable wealth, and one night some thieves, instigated by the inhabitants of the city, broke into his house and murdered him.[5]

XLVII. Qāzī Mubārak of Gopāmau.[6]

He was a most learned man and performed the duties of his office of *Qāẓī* with great integrity and honesty. He acquired his knowledge and good breeding from his teacher, Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-

[1] *i.e. muftī.* [2] *Vide* p. 3.

[3] Or Bazahr. I have not been able to identify this place.

[4] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538.

[5] Literally, 'caused him to attain martyrdom.'

[6] Then a *pargana* town in the Khairābād *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Awadh.

dīn of Ambēṭhī[1] (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the *Shaikh*, from the time when the *Miyān* first began to study in his hospice, had a special regard for him and bestowed care on his education, and whenever the *Qāẓī* used to make his request, saying, "Why should not I too receive my share from the reservoir of your saintship?" Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn would always reply, "Qāẓī Mubārak has devoured this world and gained (his reward in) the next." The *Qāẓī* lived highly regarded, honoured, and respected 131 to the end of his life, and thus too took his departure to the next world.

Among the sages and learned men who came and settled in Gopāmau for the purpose of studying under the *Qāẓī* (on him be God's mercy!), and there grew to manhood, so that for the sake of profiting by their society men came from great distances, and attained to perfection thereby, was the respected Budh, who used to give instruction in all the books commonly studied. Another was Sayyid Muḥiyy, of whom the same may be said, and there were others too in the same category. That caravan of sojourners has now reached its journey's end, leaving no successors, and the mansions and abodes of learning have now been cleared of the tigers of the forest of knowledge, so that those who, fox-like, are ever ready to creep into an earth, have taken their place. The author of the *Mashāriqu-'l-Anwār* too makes the same complaint of his own time, saying no sooner is the den clear of the lioness with two cubs than the gravid vixen enters it in the morning.

Verse.

This one small loaf[2] remains to poor Ḥasan,
I fear that day when not even this will be left.

XLVIII. Maulānā Vais of Gwāliyār.

He was a learned man, argumentative and disputatious, and in his knowledge of first principles and deductions therefrom he had

[1] *Vide* p. 27. Now a town in the District and *taḥṣīl* of Hardoi, in the U. P., *vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xii, 830. For mention of Qāzī Mubārak, *vide supra*, p. 31.

[2] نانک, diminutive of نان.

no equal in his time. The power of his memory [1] was such that in the midst of an argument when there was any necessity for an appeal to any authority, he would seem to recite from memory whole pages and would say, "This is what is written in such and such a book, look it up and see," and would thus confute his adversary, but afterwards, when the book was searched, no trace of the pretended quotation would be found. In this manner he one day confuted, in the imperial assembly, Maulānā Iliyās the astrologer, who had been the tutor of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, and had great skill and readiness in the preparation of astronomical tables, so that the Maulānā, disgusted with his opposition, set out from Court, and travelling through the *pargana* of Mohān [2] in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau, which was his *jāgīr*, he gave up his military appointment in the imperial service, and
132 proceeded in haste to Gujarāt, and thence to Makkah the glorious, and thence went to the land of 'Irāq and Āzarbāījān, and Ardabīl, which was his well-loved native land, and there he died. The story of his dealings with Shāh Ismā'īl II is well known, and is briefly as follows: When Maulānā Iliyās arrived at Ardabīl he wrote a letter to Shāh Ismā'īl, who had been confined by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the fortress of Qahqaha, saying, "From the aspects of the planets I have ascertained that in such a month you will obtain your freedom, and from the dungeon will attain to the highest rank, and will sit on the throne of the kingdom. Just as he had prophesied something was put into Shāh Tahmāsp's cup after a short space of time, and the affairs of Irāq fell into great confusion, and the *amīrs* and ministers of state summoned Shāh Ismā'īl from his prison, by way of Ardabīl, with a view of setting him on the throne. Now the *maulavī* had said in his letter, "On your way from Qahqaha, when you reach Ardabīl it is necessary that you pay me a visit so that certain agreements and settlements may be made between us in your presence, and certain rites

[1] [*sic*] قوت حافظه. Badāonī should have said, 'his power of invention.'

[2] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 179. Mohān is now a town in the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Unao District of the U. P., *vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xvii, 383.

of exorcism may be performed while we are face to face." It so happened that Shāh Ismā'īl was in great haste and did not visit the *maulavī's* house, but after leaving Ardabīl he turned back and went to the *maulavī's* house with the object of waiting upon him. The *maulavī* shut the door of his mansion and refused to grant him an interview. After waiting a long time the king was compelled to break the door, and, entering the *maulavī's* room by force, waited upon him; but the *maulavi* covered his face, and, turning round, sat facing the wall, and said, "The appointed hour passed, and you did not come; why should I now see your face?" Shāh Ismā'īl turned away disappointed, and although he became king, the nobles of the realm, a year after he had ascended the throne, conspired to prompt his sister, Parījān Khānum, to attempt his life. He became cognizant of the plot, but before he could do anything to baffle it Parījān Khānum suffocated him and left his 133
room, closing the door behind her on his corpse.

XLIX. Shaikh Muḥammad of Syria.[1]

He is a true [2] 'Arab and is nephew to that Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn of Jabal-i'Āmilī who was an ecclesiastical dignitary and religious guide among the *Shī'ahs*, and on whom the Sulṭān of Turkey after much finesse and many stratagems laid hands when he was in Makkah the glorious, and after summoning him to Constantinople, put him to death. Shaikh Muḥammad is ranked among the *manṣabdārs*, and is distinguished for his bravery and valour and noted for that generosity and liberality which are characteristic of the 'Arabs. He is also well known for his good breeding and courtesy and those branches of knowledge which are generally treated of in the Arabic language, and in the humanities generally his attainments are such that he may be called a second Kisā'ī.[3] The following letter, which he wrote in Lāhōr in answer

[1] Shaikh Muḥammad is not mentioned in the *Āīn* as a *manṣabdār*.

[2] قحّ. The expression may also mean 'a rough, or brutal, Arab.' MS. (A) has فتح, wrongly.

[3] A celebrated grammarian and reader of the *Qur'ān*. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 30, note 1.

to one from me, in which I had been guilty of some insolence, when our friendship first began, is an example of his correspondence.

[Here follow five letters in Arabic, of which the Editor of the Text writes in a footnote, "Be it known that the whole of the text of these five letters, from beginning to end, is full of errors, and I have found it impossible, notwithstanding the utmost care, to correct it from the three manuscripts at my disposal." After a careful examination of the text in MSS. (A) and (B) I am compelled to agree with the Editor. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has kindly come to my assistance, agrees with me that the text is so corrupt that no satisfactory translation of these letters can be given. He also agrees, however, that the text, unsatisfactory as it is, is sufficient to indicate that the letters are not worth translating and consist, almost entirely, of long strings of bombastic and extravagant compliments. For this reason I have refrained from an attempt to reconstruct the text from other MSS.—T. W. H.]

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L. Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī of Mauṣil.[1]

He was the faithful pupil of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh, but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox *Sunnī*. He entered the imperial service in the year in which Kābul was conquered, and was entrusted with the education of the emperor's eldest son until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy. Shaikh Abū'l-Faẓl also for some time secretly received instruction from him in the exact sciences, and in physics, and other branches of philosophy, but notwithstanding this he never attempted to advance the Shaikh's interests, so that while he himself has his place on the carpet in the imperial presence his master takes his stand on the bare floor. Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī, finding that the conduct of such men was not in accord with his religious views, gave up the allowance which he used to receive and went to Gujarāt, where he associated himself for a time with Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. The

[1] Mosul in the maps, on the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

latter, and his son, Muḥammad Sharīf, received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection therein.

After the death of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl and other courtiers recounted some of the *Shaikh's* accomplishments 137
and perfections in the imperial assembly, whereby the emperor was so impressed that Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī is now (recognized as) the spiritual successor of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh. At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lāhōr, but when he paid his respects at Court Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad directed him to perform the *sijdah* (instead of the *kūrnish*),[1] which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony a condition of his attendance, and even in his house he could not bear (to witness at Court) so many things which were abominations to him, and "the elephant once more remembered Hindustan"[2] and on the plea of an intention to visit his mother he obtained leave to go to his own country, and in the year H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) he arrived at Thaṭṭha, when the Khān-i-Khānān was governor of that province, and having attained to trust in God and contentment of heart he set out for his own country, and when he arrived at Hurmuz he sent a message to the officers of the imperial court saying, "Praise be to God! I am freed from the hypocritical companionship of my friends." Please God he has attained the object of his desires.

LI. Qāẓī Nūru-'llāh of Shushtar.[3]

Although he is by religion a *Shī'ah*[4] he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of

[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 159.

[2] A proverb descriptive of home-sickness

[3] More properly Shūshtar. On the Kārūn river, in Persia.

[4] According to Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 545), Qāẓī Nuru-'llāh

heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary"[1] of Shaikh Faiẓī which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abū-'l-Fatḥ,[2] and when the victorious imperial army reached Lāhōr, and Shaikh Mu'in the *Qāẓī* of Lāhōr, when he was paying his respects to the emperor, was afflicted suddenly in the presence chamber with the falling sickness, which came upon him in consequence of the feebleness of old age, and the failure of his natural powers, the emperor took pity on his weakness, and said, "The *Shaikh* is past his work,
138 and we have therefore appointed Qāẓī Nūru-'llāh to the post which he held." In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftīs* and the crafty and subtle *muḥtasibs* of Lāhōr, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined. One might almost say that the author of the following verses had the *Qāẓī* in his mind when he wrote them :—

"Thou art he who has never in all his life admitted
Any statement by anybody in a law-suit, except the sworn testimony of a witness."

One day when he was in the house of Shaikh Faiẓī the Nīshāpūrī commentary was the subject of discussion, and regarding the blessed verse :—"When he said to his companion, 'Be not cast down, verily God is with us,'"[3]—which verse is held, by the great majority of commentators, to refer to the greatest of

practised *taqīya*, or concealment of his religious views, among *Sunnīs*, and was well acquainted with the system of jurisprudence of Abū Ḥanīfah. After Jahāngīr's accession he was recalled from Lāhor. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

1 The *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām*, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 549.

2 *Vide infra*, c. iii, no. viii.

3 إذ يقول لصاحبه لا تحزن ان الله معنا *Qur'ān*, ix, 39.

faithful witnesses of the truth (Abū Bakr)—may God be graciously pleased with him!—he said, "If the signification of the companionship referred to in the text be trifling and unimportant then the expression cannot be understood as conveying praise of anybody, but if it be said that the word is used in the conventional sense which has been attributed to it by traditionists, we come back to the question under debate, and I deny that there was any companionship (in that sense)."[1] I replied, "If a mere child even who knew the Arabic language were asked he would say that this verse clearly involves praise (of the person referred to therein) and not blame, and an African infidel, or a Jew, or a Hindū who knew Arabic, would give the same reply." There was much controversy on the subject, and Shaikh Faiẓī after his usual vile custom took the side of the *Qāẓī*, though he actually had nothing whatever in common with either side. Suddenly a passage was turned up, in the Nīshāpūrī commentary itself, which supported my contention, and even went beyond it, saying that the verse, supposing that the prophet (may God bless and preserve him!) had at that moment been summoned to the immediate presence of God, would have been authority for

1 The original is rather stilted, and is not easy to translate. The *Qāẓī*, arguing as a *Shī'ah*, contended that the word *Ṣāḥib* ("companion") might be interpreted in two ways. It might be translated literally, without any ulterior signification, in which case its application to Abū Bakr could confer no honour upon him, for it would mean nothing more than that he chanced to be in the company of Muḥammad. The other signification, the technical or conventional meaning referred to by the *Qāẓī*, is the signification given by *Sunnī* traditionists to the word *Ṣāḥib* when used in connection with the first three *Khalīfahs*, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. These three were, the traditionists argue, the chosen and constant companions of Muḥammad, whose object in admitting them to this intimate companionship was to draw attention to the fact that they had been selected as his spiritual successors, and to qualify them for the posts they were to fill after his death. The *Qāẓī* objects to the assumption that the word *Ṣāḥib* bears this conventional meaning, as a *petitio principii*. Badāonī, as a Sunnī, argues that whatever may be the precise signification of the word *Ṣāḥib*, the verse confers honour on Abū Bakr, and contends that anybody acquainted with Arabic and ignorant of theology would at once see that it did so.

regarding Abū Bakr and no other as the successor nominated by the prophet himself.

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LII. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm the Traditionist.

He lived in Agra, leading an ascetic, abstemious, and pious life, and occupied in teaching divinity, and especially the traditions of the prophet. His strict observance of the holy law and his asceticism prevented him from mixing or associating with his fellow-men. He was in the habit of delivering authoritative commands and prohibitions in matters of faith. When, in obedience to a summons from Court, he attended the *'Ibādatkẖāna*, he declined to observe the etiquette and ceremonies of the Court and used to preach and utter admonitions (without respect of persons). To Kẖ'āja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shīrāz, who, by reason of his habit of letting out for hire old cotton cloth for decorations, is known as Kẖ'āja 'Abdu-'llāh,[1] and is much occupied with ceremonial prayers and fasts, and with supererogatory prayers and outward devotions, and had great faith in the *Ḥājī*, he used to say, "*Kẖ'āja*, all these observances will profit you nothing until you give a place in your heart to love for the orthodox successors of the prophet."

LIII. Shaikh Jalāl-i-Wāṣil,[2] of Kālpī.[3]

He is one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ.[4] Early in his career he acquired perfection (in learning), but later he no longer allowed such matters to burden his memory and gave himself up wholly to the delight of listening to the chants of mystics, and to fits of religious ecstasy. His majesty the emperor has a very high opinion of him. On the whole there was less of striving after appearances among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ than among

[1] I do not understand the applicability of this nickname.

[2] واصل. The word means 'united (with God).'

[3] Then the chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Ṣūba* of Agra. Now the chief town of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Jalaun District of the U.P. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiv, 318.

[4] See p. 6.

those of Shaikh Salīm,[1] though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other; and now the words of 'Alī, the leader of the faithful (may God be graciously pleased with him!), which he spoke on hearing the blessed verse, "The Jews say, 'the Christians are grounded on nothing,' and the Christians say, 'the Jews are grounded on nothing!'"[2] are applicable to both parties. 'Alī said, on hearing this verse, "We believe it." Praise be to God, no trace of either sect remains.

LIV. Malik Maḥmūd-i-Piyārū. 140

He possessed such outward accomplishments as a knowledge of Arabic, Qurānic commentaries, the traditions, and miscellaneous Persian compositions in prose and poetry, and was also adorned with spiritual perfection in such matters as devotion, piety, a mystic longing for union with God,[3] and religious ecstasy. He was descended from the *maliks* of the land of Gujarāt, and his venerable father bore the name of Malik Piyārū. Malik Maḥmūd, owing to the elegance and copiousness of his discourse, his knowledge, and his ingenuity, was accorded the great honour of conversing with the *Kẖalīfah* of the age, in the heavenly assemblies held at Court, and ingratiated himself with his majesty, and owing to the great pleasure which he took in rendering any service to the godly, he was for some time favoured by being appointed to and associated with the glorious post of the trusteeship of the blessed tomb of that pole-star of saints who have become united with God, Kẖ'āja Mu'inu-d-dīn-i-Sanjarī-yi-Cishtī (may God sanctify his tomb!). But notwithstanding all the favour which the emperor bestowed upon him and the faith which he had in him, and his nearness to the emperor's person, owing to the all-mastering love and overpowering desire and the strength of the mystic bonds by which he was bound to that pole-star of the heaven of chiefship and centre of the circle of happiness, the lord Shāh-i-'Ālam of Bukẖārā, one of the sons of

[1] See p. 18.

[2] و قالت اليهود ليست النصرى على شيء و قالت النصرى ليست اليهود على شيء *Qur'ān*, ii, 111.

[3] ذوق See p. 11, note 4.

Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān of Bukhārā[1] (may God sanctify his honoured tomb!), him who was the beloved of the possessors of true knowledge, and who was sought after by travellers in the right path, Malik Maḥmūd exerted all the influence and employed all the interest which he possessed in preferring his request that he might be permitted to depart from Court and undertake the guardianship of the holy man's tomb, employing himself in the circumambulation of its threshold, the dwelling-place of angels, and urged his request with an utter disregard of the emperor's wishes. Since he was thoroughly sincere in his intention and design, and was altogether free from any suspicion of hypocrisy or worldly designs, his prayer was naturally granted, but after much discussion and debate, and he retired to the corner of contentment and resignation, passing most of his blessed time in Aḥmadābād in the service of that shrine until he departed from its parterres to those of the abode of peace.

141 The author had the honour of being admitted to his joy-diffusing presence in Fatḥpūr and Ajmīr.

The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdāh* is by the *Malik*:—

"I have an ever-veering heart which nevertheless I call my *qibla-numā*,[2]

Whithersoever I turn it, it still turns towards His eyebrow."

LV. Ṣadr-i-Jahān,[3] of Pihānī.

Pihānī is a village in the district of Qannauj.[4] Ṣadr-i-Jahān

[1] See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 376.

[2] That which points to the *qibla*, or the direction in which to pray.

[3] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 468. *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* was both the Mirān's personal name and the name of the office to which he was appointed in the 34th year. He was one of the signatories to the deed which acknowledged Akbar's spiritual supremacy as well as his temporal supremacy. His position with regard to the 'divine faith' is not clear, but he evidently temporized. During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of four thousand, and received Qannauj as *tuyūl*. He died in A.D. 1611 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. See also vol. ii, text, *passim*.

[4] According to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* Pihānī is near Lakhnau, but from the fact that Ṣadr-i-Jahān received Qannauj as *tuyūl* in Jahāngīr's reign it would appear that Badāonī is right.

is a learned *Sayyid* of a happy disposition, most of whose life has been passed in the camp. He acquired his great learning under the tuition of Shaikh 'Abdu-'n-Nabī,[1] and it was in consequence of the *Shaikh's* exertions that he was appointed chief *muftī* of the empire, a post which he held for several years. After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his time-serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world. He accompanied the physician Humām[2] on his embassy to the ruler of Tūrān,[3] and when he returned thence he was honoured by being appointed *Ṣadr* of the empire. At the time when it was noised abroad in Lāhōr that those who remained of the *'Ulamā* were to be banished to Makkah the glorious, and a list of them had been prepared, the Ṣadr-i-Jahān said one day, "I fear lest I may have been included in this class." Mirzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, who had prepared the list, said, "Why should you be sent to Makkah?" The *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* asked the Mirzā, why he needed to ask the question, and the Mirzā replied, "You have never given utterance to God's words, that you should be worthy of this banishment."

The Ṣadr-i-Jahān, notwithstanding his poetic gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry, now repents of his former devotion to the art. The following opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is by him:—

[1] *Vide supra*, no. x.

[2] *Vide infra*, Chap. iii, no. x.

[3] The object of this embassy was to answer a letter which 'Abdu-'llāh Khān Uzbak had written to Akbar, questioning him regarding his apostasy from Islām. The answer which they took to 'Abdu-'llāh contained the following Arabic verses:—

قيل ان الاله ذو ولد　　قيل ان الرسول قد كهنا
ما نجا الله و الرسول معا　　من لسان الورى فكيف انا

"Of God it has been said that He had a Son; of the prophet it has been said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the prophet has escaped the slander of men,—then how should I?"

"May each hair of my beloved's locks,
O God, beccme an affliction,
And may my heart be afflicted with each one of those afflictions!"

I pray that, if it please God, he may be given grace to repent of foolish disputations on points of secular knowledge, of hypocrisy, ostentation, self-esteem, and extravagant boasting, which he must have learnt from one possessed of a devil, just as he has repented of writing poetry.

LVI. Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr.[1]

He assumed as a poet the *nom-de-plume* of *Ṣarfī*, and in him were displayed both the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm (may God sanctify his tomb!), and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two most excellent holy places. He received from Shaikh Ibn-u Ḥajar a licence to give instruction in the traditions of Muḥammad, and clad in the robes of a *Shaikh* he travelled much and visited most of the *Shaikhs* of Arabia and Persia, and profited much by his intercourse with them, and received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide, and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindūstān and Kashmīr. He was the superior of an hospice. He was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and completed a *Khamsah*,[1] and wrote many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also quatrains on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, with a commentary. His works, indeed, are too numerous to be recapitulated, and had it not been necessary that some slight mention should be made of his *Ṣūfī*-ism, and his mystic longing for God, even these few works could not have been noticed. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the traditions of Muḥammad, and *Ṣūfī*-ism, and he was an authorized religious leader.

[1] A series of five *maṣnavis*, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmi.

Latterly, not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius. Both the late emperor and his present majesty had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high estimation and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that can be imagined of his contemporaries.

Although his poetry was very poor, in accordance with the verse:—"Poetry does not become the learned," he used nevertheless, continually to exercise his intellect in this direction. These following few couplets are by him:—

Couplets.[1]

"I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard, 143
"Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that one face is manifest.
"On all sides people are wandering in search of the Friend,
"And the strange thing is that the Friend is manifest on every side."

Other couplets by the *Shaikh* are these:—

"Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eyebrow to deceive,
"Wherever a recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found, deceit is in him."
"Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that heart may be,
"The heart is indeed mine, but consider who dwelleth there."
"If thou sayest to him, "It behoves that Thy foot pass over my head,"
"(Remember that) thou shouldst at once forsake all thought of self."

This enigma on the name of Shaidā is also by the *Shaikh*:—

[1] The following verses are all mystical.

"My moon hath cast the veil from off her face,
"See, how she hath of set purpose turned day into night!"

At the time when he obtained permission to depart from Lāhor to his dearly loved native land, he wrote to me from the far side of the river Rāvī a letter, which I copy here as a fortunate relic.

"My helper and my mighty one! After laying before you the prayers and supplications of true friendship, I represent to your mind, brilliant as the sun, that the cause of your neglecting to observe, in respect of your sincere and true friend, one most excellent institution was probably the fact that, though the approved custom of travelling with a friend for a part of his journey is one of the requirements of the observance of setting
144 him on his way, you were not able at the present time to perform this office and therefore could not help but leave it undone. I hope, however, that you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your bounteous heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of the ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. And now peace be with you and grace be upon you."

When he reached Kashmīr he sent me from there another letter, which was the last he wrote. I copy it here.

"In the presence of the bounteous Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir, him who is removed beyond the need of praise, recommendation, or encomium, that is to say our lord and leader in learning, may this letter be opened.

Without a doubt Badāonī excels Dawwānī[1]
In all branches of learning,

[1] Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī, the famous logician. His name in Persian script is دواني, while Badāonī is بداوني, which Shaikh Ya'qūb would, for the purposes of this conceit, metamorphose into بدواني by the transposition of two letters, thus converting it into Dawwānī with the addition of one letter (ب). The play upon the two names is somewhat clumsy.

Thus a proof of the superabundance of the signification of his name,
Is that its very beginning appears to be redundant.

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Faẓīl Fayyāẓī's[1] apartment of fragrant grass,[2] on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer,[3] drinking the water which, though warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think on me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment."

Couplet.

"Ah! ye who meet in the cheerful assembly of union extend a helping hand to the absent,
"For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld from the absent."

"I pray you to accept, on behalf of your most honoured, most 145
orthodox, and most glorious son, Shaikh Muḥīyyu-d-dīn Muḥammad, my humble submission. May God, the most Holy and most High, assist him in the acquirement of all knowledge, both secular and spiritual, by the honour of him[4] who was named with the name of his sublime title (may his pure tomb be hallowed!).

It is probable that, owing to your claims as a neighbour to confidence, you may have heard what that resort of chiefship,

[1] The text has 'Fayyāẓī' only. MS. (A), which I follow, has 'Faiẓu Fayyāẓī.'

[2] خسخانه, 'a house of *Khas*.' *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*andropogon muricatum*). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 411, note 1.

[3] تموز, the Syrian month corresponding with July. The word is omitted from MS. (B).

[4] *i.e.* the prophet Muḥammad, from whom Badāonī's son had one of his names.

Mīrān Sayyid Quṭbu-d-dīn, had to say with regard to his failure to answer my humble letter to him, but it behoves you rather to regard my essential claims upon you, for these claims are clearly to be preferred to the claim of mere neighbourhood; and likewise you should not place too much confidence in the display of affection which the worshipful Mīrān makes, for in the end it has no stability. God the most High knows the truth!

I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Āṣafkhānī style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy. If you answer this letter it will be well. (I call to mind) God!"

Verses by the Author.[1]

"O thou, at the thought of whose face intimacy comes back to me,
My desire cannot be borne on paper,
As the lofty mountain cannot be weighed in a balance,
And as the ocean cannot be measured by a water-gauge.

Why should I sing your praises? They are far beyond the pretensions of the bald style and the impotent rhetoric of me, 'Abdu-l-Qādir; and any attempt to comprise them therein would resemble the endeavour to imprison the sea in a jug."

Poetry.

"And what shall I say of my blessings on you?
No bird of devotion flies from me to the lote-tree of Paradise,
For no bird bears in his beak a list of my blessings on thee.
Why should I say anything of my desire of seeing you again?

Quatrain.

O thou whose hand has been held in my two hands,
Who hast hindered me from the enjoyment of health,

[1] These verses begin a letter from Badāonī to Shaikh Ya'qūb.

It is impossible, that I should record my desire towards thee, 146
The strong desire that I have towards thee.

Since the time when you saw fit to take your departure hence to the land where you now dwell, the interpreter of divine secrets, by which expression may be understood the root of the elements of true knowledge, gladdened me by coming to me repeatedly, both for a few days before and a few days after the festival of the new year, conveying to me the truth contained in the following couplet from the *Ten Sayings of Good Tidings*:[1]—

Couplet.

"This day a tall and comely man, in his own city,
Sits with his bride, rejoicing in his good fortune."

You wrote with that pen which cherishes the poor and distils musk,

"Without a doubt Badāonī, excels Dawwānī," etc.

I reply to those verses in the following *maṣnavi*:—

O thou whose tongue is the key of the Hidden Book,
Whose pure heart is an outcome of the Infallible,
Thy pen hath displayed miracles,
The hidden treasures of "Be, and it was."[2]
Thou saidst, with a logic which nourishes the intelligence,
Badāonī is more pleasant than Dawwānī."[3]
Whether it be of Dawwānī or of Badāonī (that thou speakest),
Both subjects receive all their wealth from the treasure-house of thy grace.
My heart has become the mirror of thy beauty,
The place where thy never-failing bounty is displayed.
What wonder then if, in regarding it truly,
Thou shouldst see thyself there?

If these verses be mere ostentation then let this much suffice. Who am I that I should presume in answering you? I have had

[1] I have not been able to find any mention of this work elsewhere.
[2] كن فيكون, *i.e.* 'creation.' [3] *Vide supra*, p. 202, note 1.

recourse to poetry, wherein I have loosed the tongue of deprecation, seeking forgiveness, and asking pardon for my remissness in observing the custom of writing friendly letters, a custom which is contrary to the habit and wont of the vulgar, nay, may rather be described as one of the peculiar characteristics of those who are raised above the common herd, as you yourself know well, and, regarding this letter as atonement for my fault, I count it full satisfaction of all that is past.

147 As for what you wrote regarding the air of the apartment of fragrant grass, and the iced water, it brought to my mind the following verse :—

"Of life (is left) but that which is ice in summer heat."

And reminded me of the saying, "O company of Muslims, have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade has declined," for it is some days since I have enjoyed that cool air and that iced water.

"The wolf's mouth is bloody, but he has not torn Yūsuf,"[1]

Verse.

"Let him who imagines that love is an easy matter come,
and look upon my face, and from its haggardness he
will understand that love is a hard matter."

His Majesty, who is near the sun in excellence, has, for some reason, and without the intervention of any person whatsoever, taken the name of me, the humblest of his slaves, on his blessed tongue, expressing some intention of bestowing on me the trusteeship of (the shrine in) the exalted region of Ajmer.

Verse.

Those tents have vanished from the sight of me, the watcher,
Peace be on the dwellers therein, is the wish which I would
have conveyed.

[1] i.e. I have not done as you suppose, though appearances may be against me.' The reference is to the story of Joseph. According to the *Qur'ān* (chap. xii) the sons of Jacob told their father that a wolf had devoured Joseph. In the Old Testament version of the story (Gen. xxxvii. 20, 33) the brethren merely led their father to suppose that an evil beast ('fera pessima') had devoured him.

Nevertheless I have not yet been installed in the office,[1] and it is my earnest desire that the effects of this good fortune may soon emerge from the region of probabilities into that of accomplished facts. Then my heart will be independent of the water of the whirlpools of daily life and the unwholesome air of every country, and the coolness of pure truth will become my portion, so that the rubbish-heap of the world will appear to me to be no more than rubbish, and the iced water of the times a mere mirage. My wretched lot impels me to be chanting ever this mournful refrain : —

"Wonder of wonders that your heart is not disgusted, and
your soul is not sick
With the putrid odours which arise from these unwholesome waters."

The ambition and object of me, your well-wisher, is that you will strive to help me in all matters, worldly and spiritual, so that when I go to Ajmīr[2] I may remember that the name of the place rhymes with Kashmīr inasmuch as each delightful place 148
is the pivot of one of the two axes, or rather the two extremities, north and south, of the same axis, which extends in either direction. "A delectable city, and a forgiving God!"

Just as you, in Kashmīr, will be drinking the ice water[3] of the fount Jhālara,[4] so shall I be moistening my tongue with the limpid water of thanks and praise to the Giver of all good things, both spiritual and bodily.

Verse.

To the bounteous may their bounty be pleasant,
And to the poor lover that which he sips.

A counterpart of my present condition would be the revealing of that which has been disclosed to the inspired. Your servant's

[1] Badāonī was disappointed of this office, which would have suited him very well. See vol. ii, text, pp. 400, 401. The shrine was that of Khwāja Mu'īnu-d-din Cishtī.

[2] Ajmir is now usually spelt Ajmer.

[3] آب برفین according to both MSS. The text has, wrongly, اب برفتن.

[4] I have not been able to find mention of this fountain elsewhere

son has gone to Badāon, where he is employed in putting up prayers for you. May your sublime shadow never grow less!

Written in the month of Ramaẓān the blessed, dispensing blessings, in the year H. 1003 (May-June, 1595)."

The following ode is one of the productions of the Shaikh's pearl-scattering and jewel-dispersing pen, which he wrote to me during one of his travels.

Ode.

"At the moment when I was writing this letter,
My tears were flowing, mingled with blood,
All the writing which was set forth by my pen,
The letter of my longing for you, has been blotted out from my heart.
The bitterness of separation is medicine.
Ṣarfī, so great is the flood of my tears that the nine oceans to me
Seem but as the dropping of rain."

To be brief I may say that one so feeble and so devoid of the graces of speech as I has not the power to recount fully the excellent qualities and perfection of the noble *Shaikh*. The noble works which he has left behind him, and which have, as one may say, put a girdle round the day of resurrection, are a sufficient witness to what he was. On the 18th of Ẕī-qa'dah, in the year H. 1003 (July 25, 1595) the bird of his soul, whose nest was holiness, escaping from the cage of this world of confinement, flew to that of liberation, and the words "He was the *Shaikh* of nations" were found to give the date of his death.[1]

Verse.

Peace be to the world, for pleasant are its blessings.
148 As though Yūsuf were sitting in it.

Verses.

Seek not in this waste spot the road to the treasure-house of your desire,

[1] شیخ امم بود, giving the date 1003.

For this ruined abode is nought but the place of toil and grief.
Fate has laid, at every step herein, a snare of calamity,
Who is there that has set his foot in this region of snares who has not also left his head here?
The vanished heart of the rose has left behind it a word of hope,
But what can that profit us who are unable to read?[1]
The days of man's life are exceeding short. Be not deceived
For no sooner have you drawn a breath than you give your life to the wind.

LVII. Maulānā Mirzā of Samarqand

He was an angel in the form of a man, who had acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places, (may God increase their honour!). During the regency of Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, he dwelt in Āgra, where the people profited much by his precious utterances. Under the tuition of the *Maulānā*, who was one of the best men of his time, I studied a portion of the *Shamsiyyah*,[2] commentary on logic, the work of Amīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who was the most noble and most orthodox son and successor of the holy Amīr Sayyid 'Alī of Hamadān, by the blessing of whose holy foot-steps, which were inseparably connected with the spiritual instruction of the people, the faith of Islām was first promulgated and preached in the land of Kashmir. And besides this commentary on logic I read other brief works with the *Maulānā*. From his blessed tongue I heard the following saying of the prophet, which has the very highest authority. "The prophet (may God bless and assoil him!) said, 'He who sees a stranger (with his wife) may slay him; his blood is lawful (to him),'" and from him also I

[1] There is pun on the word سواد here, which cannot be reproduced in English.

[2] See vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 427 and note 1. Badāoni's attribution of this work does not, however, agree with that there mentioned

received authority to propound and expound this tradition, he having received it through only six intermediaries from
150 that holy one who was the seal of prophecy (on him and on his family be blessings without end!) The authenticity of the tradition of this saying is related in detail in the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*.[1]

The *Maulanā*, at the time of the Khān-i-Zamān's rebellion, came from Agra to Dihlī, further than which place I have not been able to trace him, so that I do not know the (latter) circumstances of his auspicious life.

LVIII. Qāẓī Abū-l-Ma'ālī.[2]

He is the disciple, the spiritual successor, and also the son-in-law of the Governor[3] of Bukhārā (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). The venerable Governor was so learned in law and divinity that if we may suppose that all the books on the theology of the *Ḥanafī*[4] school had disappeared from the world, he would have been able to write them afresh. It was on his account that 'Abdu-'llāh Khān,[5] the king of Tūrān, put a stop to the study of logic and dialectics in his dominions, and expelled Mullā Iṣāmu-d-dīn of Isfārāin with his vile pupils from Transoxiana. The circumstances were as follows: After the study of logic and dialectics had gained ground in Bukhārā and Samarqand vile and wicked students, whenever they met a pious and simple-minded man, used to say, "This fellow is an ass, for he will deny the proposition that he is an animal,[6] and, since the

[1] By Badāonī. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 511, note 2, and p. 609, note 3.

[2] See vol. ii, text, p. 49.

[3] عزیزان, honorific plural of عزیز, most commonly used in this sense with regard to Joseph (عزیز مصر), Governor of Egypt.

[4] The school of Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law.

[5] 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbak, King of Transoxiana.

[6] This appears to be the author's meaning, though the literal translation is 'he denies the proposition لا حیوان ('no animal').' My late friend Shamsu-l-'Ulamā Shaikh Maḥmūd-i-Gīlānī informed me that the passage

rejection of a general proposition necessarily involves the rejection of particular propositions dependent on it, he necessarily denies also his humanity." When fallacies of this nature were frequently repeated and spread abroad the Governor wrote a treatise on divinity, inciting and urging 'Abdu-'llah Khān to banish this school, and adducing clear proofs of the unlawfulness of teaching and studying logic and philosophy. He also recorded his opinion that there was no harm in using as a *torcheul* paper on which logical exercises had been written, and wrote much more to the same purport.

The *Qāẓī* always performed the *zikr-i-arra*[1] after his prayers with his companions, and used to enroll disciples.

In the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62) he came to Agra, and I, as a 151
means of attaining good fortune and blessing, read some lessons with him in the beginning of the *Sharḥ-i-Wiqāyah*, and in truth, so far as that subject was concerned I found him to be a boundless sea of learning

LIX. Maulānā Mīr-i-Kalān.[2]

He was the grandson of Mulla Kh'āja, one of the greatest of

related to a childish trick, which the budding logicians of Transoxiana probably believed to be clever. حیوان means 'an animal,' and is usually and vulgarly used in the sense of 'beast' or 'brute.' The trick was to apply the term, in its approbrious sense, to some simpleton, as one might call another in English 'a wretched animal,' thereby inducing him to deny that he was an animal, and then, referring to the more general and scientific meaning of the word, to turn on him and say, 'since you are no animal you are no man, for man is an animal.' It seems strange that this stupid hoax should have seriously annoyed learned men, but it must be remembered that Badāonī's 'learned men' were theologians pure and simple, who regarded logic as 'carnal learning,' trivial, if not absolutely harmful, and would be ready to use any pretext for the purpose of harassing both its professors and its students.

[1] ذکر ارّه, a religious exercise of the *Ṣufīs*. The late Shamsu-l-Ulama Shaikh Maḥmūd-i-Gīlānī informed me that he was not aware in what it consisted, but believed that it consisted in reciting the word الله (*Allāh*) on a prolonged note and in a guttural tone. [170

[2] He was the first teacher of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr). See vol. ii text

the *Shaikhs* of Khurāsan. Maulānā Mīr-i-Kalān was endowed with both inward and outward perfection and was a profound sage, being especially proficient in the traditions, in which respect he was the wonder of the age. He had authority from Sayyid Mīrak Shāh[1] to teach this branch of knowledge. He was highly regarded by Maulana Zainu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker[2] (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). He was preserved by God, the most Holy and most High, from all sins, mortal and venial, and was ever employed in teaching divinity, and passed his life with his eyes cast down in meditation. He was the disciple of Shaikh Jalāl of Hirāt, who was one of the most famous of great Shaikhs. Maulānā Mīr-i-Kalān acquired a disposition like that of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him!), and his angelic nature was a manifestation of the (ninety-nine) attributes of God. He attained the age of eighty years, and his mother, who was a *Sayyidah*, was living at the time of his death. He never married, for fear lest his wife should not subject herself to his mother, and thus he passed away in his mother's lifetime. At the time when the *Maulavī* passed away to the eternal abode his mother was engaged in reading the glorious *Qur'ān*, and when they conveyed to her the news of the death of so precious a son, and asked her permission to proceed with the last rites she recited the noble verse, "We are God's, and to Him do we return," and continued her reading of the *Qur'ān*, without a sign of weeping or lamentation. The Maulānā
152 passed away to the Presence of God's mercy in Agra, in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74), and was buried also in Agra, and a year later his mother too journeyed to the next world and obtained the felicity of rejoining her blessed son.

I was blessed and honoured by meeting with the Maulānā of angelic disposition, but I received no instruction from him.

LX. Maulānā Sa'īd of Turkistān.[3]

He was the most learned of the sages of his time. Some of

[1] See vol. ii, text, loc. cit.

[2] Mr. Blochmann suggests (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 539) that this saint may be identical with Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the bow-maker.

[3] He came from Transoxiana to India in A.D. 1560-61, 'and was unable

his learning he acquired from Mulla Aḥmad-i-Jand[1] and some from Mullā Maḥmūd-i-Surkh,[2] and he also studied for a while under Mullā 'Iṣamu-'d-dīn Ibrāhim.[3] He came to India and entered the service of the emperor, who delighted much in his company. He possessed all the qualities of a true, religious man and was lowly-minded and of a most genial disposition. In from understanding, likewise, and quickness of perception no *Mullā* Turkistān who has appeared in this country has equalled him. He was an eloquent and charming speaker, and as a teacher was kind and gentle towards his pupils.

He passed away into the presence of the Lord's mercy in the year H. 970 (A.D. 1562-63) after his return from India to Kabul.

LXI. Ḥāfiẓ-i-Kūmakī.[4]

He was generally known as Ḥāfiẓ of Tashkand,[5] and was a profound scholar, especially in Arabic. He studied under Maulānā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn[6] and acquired proficiency in all branches of knowledge. He taught much, and all the learned men of Transoxiana concurred in acknowledging his superiority. He affected a military mode of life, and whenever he rode abroad had a quiver in his belt, after the manner of the Turks. He came to India in the year H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70) and was honoured by 153
being admitted to the service of the *Khalīfah* of the age. After

to remain in Hindūstān owing to the blindness of its people.' See vol. ii, text, p. 49.

[1] Or 'Junaid.' See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 486, and note 1.

[2] The text has *Muḥammad*-i-Surkh, but I follow both MSS.

[3] This was 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn of Isfārāin, the logician, who was expelled from Transoxiana by command of 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Uzbak. See vol ii, text, 187.

[4] See vol. ii, text, 187. He received from Akbar and his *Amīrs* contributions to the extent of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000, the greater part of which sum seems to have found its way to the pockets of the Kh'āja-yi-Jahān. He is said (loc. cit.) to have been well versed in Arabic, and to have written a commentary on the *Sūratu-l-Muḥammad* (*Qur'ān*, c. xlvii) which was a good example of his powers. *Kūmakī* means auxiliary.

[5] Tashkent in English maps.

receiving many substantial marks of the imperial favour he set out, by way of Gujarāt, on a pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madīnah, whence he proceeded to Turkey, where he was presented to the Sulṭān of Turkey, and in that country received ten times more honour and attention than he had received in India, so that even the office of grand *vazīr* of the empire was offered to him. This office he declined, and returned to Transoxiana, where he died. I never had the honour of paying my respects either to Ḥāfiẓ-i-Kūmakī or to Maulānā Sa'īd.

LXII. Qāẓī Niẓām of Badakhshān.[1]

He received the title of Qāẓī Khān, and was a native of Badakhshān, where his home was situated near a ruby-mine. In such branches of knowledge as are acquired by study he was the pupil of Maulānā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, and also studied under Mullā Sa'īd. He had a great taste for and proficiency in Sūfi-istic studies, and in these, the way of truth, he was the disciple of the greatest of leaders, Shaikh Ḥusain of Kh'ārazm. In consequence of his close adherence to the esoteric school he has also acquired much respect among men of the world, and in Badakhshān was one of the nobles of the State. When he came to India he obtained unbounded honour, receiving first the title of Qāẓī Khān, and afterwards that of Ghāzī Khān. He was eloquent and his delivery was pleasing. He was the author of some standard works, among which was a treatise on the proof of the word (of God) and an account of the religion of truth and verity. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary on the dogmas of the faith, and numerous treatises on *Ṣūfī*-ism. He passed away to the presence of God's mercy at the age of seventy in the year H. 992 (A.D. 1584) in Awadh. He was the first person to suggest the performance of the ceremony of prostration[2] before

1 For a full account of Qāẓī Niẓām, or Ghāzī Khān, who was a commander of nine hundred, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 440. He first received the title of *Qāẓī* Khān from Sulaimān, King of Badakhshān. This title seems to have been confirmed or recognized on, or shortly after, his arrival in India, and he afterwards received the title of Ghāzī Khān.

2 See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 159. This invention flattered the vanity of Akbar

the emperor. Mullā 'Ālim of Kābul used to say regretfully, "Alas, that I was not the inventor of this ordinance!"

LXIII. Maulānā Ilāhdād-i-Langarkhānī. 154

He comes from a quarter in Lāhōr. He is well versed in all such branches of knowledge as are included in the ordinary curriculum, and is a profound scholar. He rules his life in accordance with the holy law, and is abstinent, and most pious and religious. He employs his time in teaching. He has never visited the houses of worldly and unpolished men, and has never asked assistance from the great ones of the earth, nor accepted the usual subsistence allowance made to religious teachers. He is nearly eighty years of age.

LXIV. Maulānā Muḥammad, the *Mufti*.[1]

He is one of the most respected teachers of Lāhor. He is endowed with many perfect qualities and is employed as *Muftī*. On each occasion on which he completes the perusal of the *Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī*[2] or the *Mishkāt*[3] he gives a great entertainment, regaling his guests with *bughrā khānīs*[4] and sweetmeats. His assembly is the meeting-place of the most learned men. The Maulānā, now that he has reached the age of ninety years, and is bent and feeble, has given up teaching. He has four or five orthodox sons, all of whom are in learning and accomplishments worthy successors of their father.

more, probably, than any innovation introduced in his reign, and the inventor was proportionately rewarded. Hence the regretful ejaculation of Mullā 'Ālim.

1 See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 541.

2 A collection of authentic traditions, in which an account of Imām Bukhāri is given. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 6 and note 3.

3 *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh*, a celebrated collection of Traditions. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, 58, note 3, *et passim*.

4 A dish invented by Bughra Khan, King of Khwārazm. It consists of quadrangular sections of paste, dressed with gravy or milk.

LXV. Mīr Fatḥu-'llāh of Shīrāz.[1]

He was one of the *Sayyids* of Shīrāz and the most learned of the learned men of his time. He was for a long time the spiritual guide of the rulers and nobles of Fārs. He was thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic, traditions, interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and rhetoric, and was the author of some excellent works, which were not, however, equal to those of
155 Maulānā Mīrzā Jān of Shīrāz, who was a teacher in Transoxiana, an abstemious recluse, and was unique among the learned men of the age. Mīr Fatḥu-'llah, although he was polite, courteous, and well-conducted in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as he began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation, and sarcasm (God save us from the like!). For this reason very few ever became his pupils, and he has not left behind him one worthy disciple. He was for some years in the Dakan, and 'Ādil Khān,[2] the ruler of that country, had a great regard for him. When he entered the imperial service he received the title of 'Aẓdu-l-Mulk.[3] He died in Kashmīr in the year H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89) and is buried in the place known as Takht-i-Sulaimān.[4] The words, "He was an angel,"[5] were found to give the date of his death.

[1] See vol. ii, text, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, *passim*. Fatḥu-'llāh was *Ṣadr-i-Jahān Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr* for four years, from A.H. 993 (A.D. 1585) to A.H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89), but had very little power with regard to endowments, the chief source of the income brought by the appointment.

[2] 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1557—1580), fifth King of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bījāpōr.

[3] 'Aẓdu-d-*daulah*, vol. ii, text, p. 343, and Ain-Akbarī, i, *passim*.

[4] The hills above Srīnagar.

[5] فرشتۂ بود, giving the date 997.

LXVI. Shaikh Manṣūr of Lāhōr.

He is one of the disciples of Shaikh Isḥāq i-Rākū,[1] and acquired most of his learning under Maulānā Sa'du-'llah,[2] with whom he was connected by marriage. He is a learned and able man and is proficient in all such philosophical learning as is usually studied in India. He has a pleasant disposition and a sound understanding, which enables him reading to grasp a subject. He associates much with the nobles and chief men of the State and is resorted to by them. For some time he held the post of chief *Qāẓī* of Mālwa, and when the emperor set up his court at Lāhōr, he left Mālwa and paid his respects at Court. He is now employed in the administration of the *pargana* of Bajwāra[3] and the submontane districts. His son Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn was one of the most famous of the learned men employed in teaching, and was for some time among the companions of the *Khan-i-Khānān*, by whom he was highly regarded and much honoured. When he entered the imperial service he also received much honour, and though much pressed and urged to enter the 156
military service he declined to do so, and employed himself in teaching, spending whatever he received from his *jāgīr* on the students whom he taught. Of all the *Mullās* in India, after Pīr Muhammad Khān, there was nobody so famous as Mullā 'Alā'u-'d-dīn and Mullā Nūr Muḥammad Tarkhān for generosity, liberality, and open-handedness. Mullā 'Alā'u-d-dīn has written well-known marginal notes on the *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id*.[4] He attained to the honour of performing the pilgrimage of the *Ḥajj* and is buried in the holy land of pilgrimage. I never met him.

LXVII. Mullā Pīr Muḥammad of Shīrvān.[5]

He was a *Mullā* of good understanding and great penetration,

[1] See p. 85.

[2] The grammarian; he also was one of the pupils of Shaikh Isḥāq.

[3] From the mention of the submontane districts it is clear that this *pargana* was the Bajwārā in the Bet Jalandhar Dūāb *Sarkār* of the *Ṣūba* of Lāhor.

[4] I have not been able to identify this work.

[5] For an account of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Khan of Shirwān, see *Āin-i*

and gathered round him a cheerful company. Notwithstanding this he was hard-hearted man, and took no heed to do that which was lawful or avoid that which was unlawful. He came from Shīrvān and entered the service of the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān, in Qandahār, and received advancement. After the reconquest of Hindūstān he received the title of *Khān*, and afterwards that of Nāṣiru-l-Mulk, and lived for three or four years in the greatest honour and consideration, but since the days of the wicked are few, he was shortly afterwards drowned [1] in the river Narbada in Mālwa, and joined Pharaoh in the Nile of hell. His death has been recorded in the history of the reign. I saw him from afar, but, thank God, I never associated with him.

LXVIII. Mīrzā Muflis the Ūzbak.[2]

He was one of the disciples of Mullā Aḥmad-i-Jand.[3] He was an able *Mullā*, and quick and ready in controversy, but was not eloquent, and when engaged in teaching behaved grotesquely. His figure was ungainly. He spent his time in religious retirement. He came from Transoxiana to India, and taught for four
157 years in the *jāmi' masjid* of Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Farankhūdī [4] in Āgra. By the grace of God he was enabled to perform the pilgrimage to the two holy places, and in Makkah the glorious he departed this life, dying at the age of seventy.

LXIX. Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān.[5]

He had a comprehensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric,

Akbari, i, 324. He was a man of overbearing and brutal disposition, who delighted in cruelty for its own sake. For his treatment of Burj 'Alī, a messenger from the Khān-i-Zamān, see vol. ii, text, p. 23; for his treatment of Bairam Khān, his patron, *ibid.* p. 27, for his punishment, *ibid.* pp. 27-29; and for his revenge, *ibid.* p. 39. His brutality in Mālwa is described, *ibid.* pp. 47, 48

[1] As he was trying to swim the river after his defeat by Bāz Bahādur in 1562. See vol. ii, text, pp. 50, 51.

[2] See vol. ii, text, p. 187, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 541.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 213, n. 1.

[4] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 434.

[5] According to the *Ṭabaqāt* he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the *Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā* he was born at Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar and was a private friend of Humāyun's, who, like him, was fond of the astrolabe. He went with Humāyun to 'Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service As a poet he wrote under the *takhallus* of *Nūrī*. He is also called Nurī of Safidūn, because he held Safidūn for some time in *jāgīr*. Akbar gave him the title of Khān and later that of Tarkhān, and appointed him to Sāmāna. His title of Tarkhān was, however, merely an empty honour, and carried none of the privileges connected with it, for an account of which see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 364.

and was a man of pleasant disposition and a poet. Towards the end of his life he repented of and gave up poetry. He was appointed to the trusteeship of the mausoleum of his late majesty, the emperor Humāyūn, and died in Dihlī.

LXX. Maulānā Ilāhdād of Amrōha.[1]

He was an able *Mullā*, of a pleasant disposition, unaffected, a good conversationalist, a charming associate and a boon companion, ever ready with a pleasant jest. He attracted many to his society and delighted all who associated with him. He obtained an appointment in the military service of the empire which enabled him to live contentedly. He was much attached to me throughout his life. In the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), when the victorious army was marching towards Aṭak on the river in the neighbourhood of Sīyalkōṭ, he delivered up the life which had been entrusted to him,[2] and his corpse was taken to a village in the *pargana* of Amrōha, which he had beautified for himself, and was there buried

[1] Amroha was a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal of the *Ṣūba* of Dihlī. See p. 63, note 6. It is now the headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Murādābād District of the U.P See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, v, 330.

Maulānā Ilāhdād was appointed, in 1581, *Ṣadr* of one of the Dūābs in the Panjāb. See vol. ii, text, pp. 295, 296, where he is described as a man well known for his goodness of disposition.

[2] 'At a distance of three *kurāh* Mullā Ilāhdād of Amroha, who had an unhealed wound in his breast, the inflammation of which reached his heart, took a purgative from Ḥakīm Ḥasan and in the course of the day was united to God.' Vol. ii, text, 347.

This concludes the brief account of those *Shaikhs* and learned men of the age whom, for the most part, I have had an opportunity of meeting and waiting upon, and by whose illuminating regard I have been honoured; as for those of them whom I have not seen, be it as God will! Of all those of whom my pen has given an account, but very few remain here and there, like moles on the face of the age, in these days in which there is such a dearth of men worthy to be so called. Those who remain avoid and flee from the world and have been completely forgotten by those of feeble and defective nature, the vulgar, that is to say, who are no better than cattle. These learned men, counting as a
158 loan the few moments of life which are left to them, await the arrival of the swift-footed messenger of death, and, having fully realized the dignity of old age, now hearken with the ears of the soul for the cry "Prepare to set out!" expectantly waiting to answer obediently to the shout.

Quatrain.

In the history of the world the lives of all, both small and great,
Are written, and accounts of brave men and heroes,
Read, and on each page of it you will see "In such a year
Died such one, the son of such a one, the son of such a one."

And other *Shaikhs* and learned men are and were scattered throughout all parts of India, throughout its length and breadth, in such numbers that the reckoning of them is left to the knowledge of the Knower of Secrets. Likewise the number of those who are famed and known for the natural wickedness of their dispositions and innate baseness, for their hypocrisy, vileness, worthlessness, crooked dealings and injustice is beyond computation, and there is no need for me to soil my pen by recording anything concerning this handful of rubbish, these base fellows, for I have a great task before me and but little hope of long life, and my condition resembles that of the ice merchant of Nīshāpur who was selling ice in the summer, and when the sun waxed hot cried out, "O, ye Muslims! Have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade is melting away on his hands!"

Couplet.

"Our life is as ice in the heat of summer,
But little of it remains and its owner is still deceived."

And my recording the dates of the deaths of the men of whom I write resembles the case of that tailor who in a certain city had his shop by the gate of the graveyard, and hung an earthen pot from a nail in his door, his only care being to drop a stone in the pot for every funeral which came from the city. Every month 159
he used to count the stones, saying, "They have carried away so many to burial." Then he would empty the pot and hang it again on the nail, dropping stones into it as before till another month had passed. It so happened that the master tailor died and a man who had not heard of his death came to demand his services. He found the door of his shop shut and asked a neighbour whither the tailor had gone. The neighbour replied, "He too has gone into the pot."

Couplet.

Regard well what happens to others,
For when it has passed by them it will be your lot also.
God be gracious! We have fallen into the mouth of a dragon where we cannot even struggle or move, and whence we cannot obtain freedom.
Devour thine own blood like the rosebud; mourn and open not thy lips,
For the rosebud of this garden, the world, has no hope of blossoming.
It points out to thee that some form, lofty as the cypress, has crumbled away to dust
On every spot which is shaded by the box-tree
Since some rose from the pleasaunce is every moment borne away on the wind
The solitary lily wears ever the blue raiment of mourning.

I would here request my respected and critical readers and acute appraisers not to be unduly carping and censorious as regards the lack of arrangement in this work, for the famous

names of the members of the two classes which I have mentioned, who have been specially chosen out from among the people for honour, are mentioned in these few pages at haphazard like scattered pearls, and without regard to precedence or place. I would deprecate criticism on this score inasmuch as these historical selections have been written, as it were, by a broken-winged pen in a hasty flight, and I have had no leisure to arrange my composition in a commonplace book. My case much resembles that of the saddler who was constantly losing
160 his needle and said, "If my time were not mostly wasted in looking for my needle I should be able to get through a good deal of work in the day, notwithstanding that the beggars as one man gather round me like the thong of a whip." This is a well-known saying. Although some of those whom I have mentioned may not perhaps be altogether as I would have them, for many a sincerely pious man wears the appearance of an atheist, yet if there be even one of them who is acceptable to the Lord, that one person will be sufficient for my salvation, to make intercession for me and to gain honour for me. Although all of them in general are entitled to be considered as, in some sort, saints, for "God is near to them who believe," and are thus many degrees better than I, yet some of them have a special and manifest claim, which I fully admit, to be regarded as saints. It is for this reason that I have not included among these biographies those of the irreligious and lewd, taking as my rule of conduct the saying of the sage of Busṭām, which he spoke to one of his disciples by way of advice, saying, "If in these present times you see anybody who has faith in the sayings of the *Shaikhs* request his prayers both for me and for yourself, for the prayers of such a one will most certainly be answered."

I know no way and I can find no help for myself,
Except the love of those whose faith is firm.

It so happened that when I reckoned up the number of those of this honoured class whom I have mentioned, most of whom are truly men of God, and generous and enlightened souls, I found that it came to a hundred and eleven, the number which is given

by the word *quṭb* and also by the word *alf* ("one thousand"), which latter word was the date of the year[1] in which I wrote this treatise which has given me so much pleasure.

Now that my heart is disgusted with those depraved wretches who have not scrupled unblushingly to cavil at and openly to revile the faith of Islām, convicting themselves of infidelity and shamelessness, and who are the cause of all the ruin which has 1(
fallen upon both the state and the people of Islām, and are known as the strife of the latter days, I will proceed to an account of the physicians (of the court) although some of these, too, may be classed in the same category as the infidels just mentioned.

[1] A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92). The whole work was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595).

CHAPTER III.

An Account of the Physicians of the Reign of the Emperor Akbar.

Some of the physicians in this reign were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Mūsā,[1] and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord 'Īsā,[2] while others, for the reason that the healing art is a noble subject of study, but a mean pursuit in its practical application, although they busied themselves in the study of medicine, sought political employment, according to their several degrees.

I. Ḥakímu-l-Mulk of Gílān.[3]

His name was Shamsu-d-dín, and in medicine and the healing art he was the Galen of the age, and was endowed with the healing breath of the Messiah.[4] In other branches of traditional learning also he was distinguished far above all his fellows. I myself had no dealings with him, for when I first entered the imperial service and presented my preface to the *Nāma-yi-*

[1] Lit. "Had the white hand of Musā." The expression refers to the miracle related in the *Qur'ān*, Chap. xxvii, 12. "Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people, for they are a wicked people." The account in the *Qur'ān* is taken from the Book of Exodus iv. 6. The expression "the white hand of Moses" is frequently used of a miracle, or of any extraordinary power in a man.

[2] 'Isā is the name which Musalmāns give to our Lord, instead of Yasu', which is the correct version of His Name in Arabic. It is their belief that it was the miraculous property of His breath that restored the dead to life and healed the sick.

[3] According to the *Akbarnama* he was one of those who assisted in the capture of the mad Khāja Mu'azzam, Akbar's maternal uncle. See vol. ii, text 71.

[4] See note 2, above.

Khirad-afzā[1] to the emperor, the *ḥakīm* served me very ill, replying, when asked by the emperor what he thought of my writing, "His style is polished, but his book is ill to read." Notwithstanding this the *ḥakīm* was, to do him justice, a sincere well-wisher and a practical helper of God's servants, firm and steadfast in the faith, and devoted to the interests of his friends. He was constantly engaged in teaching students, to whom, indeed, he was not only a tutor, but also a generous patron. So devoted was he to them that he never on any occasion willingly took his food apart from them, and on this account he was an infrequent guest at the houses of others. He was seated one day in the assembly of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī, discoursing on theology and theologians and praising physicians and magnifying and extolling the importance and glory of the science of medicine, and the greatness of Shaikh Abū 'Alī Sīnā.[2] This occurred at 162
the time when the *'Ulamā* and the physicians were at feud, and were daily wrangling, disputing, and quarrelling regarding the dignity of their respective orders. As I was unacquainted with these matters and had only recently come from the country and was ignorant of the real grounds of the controversy, I quoted the following verses of Shaikh Shihābu-d-dín-i-Sahravardī[3] (may God sanctify his soul!).

Verses.

"How long did I say to this people, "Ye are superfluous?
One cure, the grave, is to be found in books of medicine."
But when they sought satisfaction in threatening us,
We rested in God for the sufficiency of our recompense.
And they died in the faith of Aristotle,
While we live in the faith of God's chosen prophet."

And I also quoted, in support of the position which I had

[1] See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 95, and note 6.

[2] Called in Europe, Avicenna.

[3] A renowned saint descended from Abu Bakr, the first *Khalífah*. He was the author of the *'Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif* and died at Baghdād in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234—35).

taken up, those verses of the inspired lord Jāmī [1] (may his tomb be sanctified!) which he has written in his *Tuḥfatu-l-Aḥrār*.

Couplet.

"Seek not enlightenment of the heart from the bosom of Sinā,[2]
Seek not for light from the eyes of the blind."

This enraged the *ḥakīm*, and the *Shaikh* said: "The fire of strife was already blazing between these people. Now you have come and have blown it to a still fiercer blaze."

When the arena of strife was closed to the *'ulamā* and *shaikhs* this physician disputed with the enemies of the faith whenever he could find an opportunity of doing so, as is briefly related in the account of that party.[3] At length Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk was no longer able to continue the unequal struggle and applied for leave to go to Makkah the glorious, and in the year H. 988 or 989 (A.D. 1580 or 1581) [4] he departed on the pilgrimage, and died in the land of the pilgrimage. Thanks be to God for his efforts

II. Ḥakīm Saifu-d-Mulūk of Damāwand.[5]

To great learning and knowledge of medicine he united a taste
163 for writing vilely scurrilous and satirical verse. His *nom-de-plume* was Shujā'ī.[6] As ill-luck would have it, whenever this physician undertook the cure of a sick man, the unfortunate patient surrendered his life to the messenger of death, for which

[1] Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmi, the famous poet. [2] Avicenna.

[3] See vol. ii, text, 263, 275. The word در ('in') has been carelessly omitted from the text, though it is in both MSS

[4] According to vol. ii. text, p. 275, Ḥakimu-l-Mulk was first ordered to go to Makkah in A.D. 1579 owing to his quarrels with Abū-l-Faẓl, whom he called فضلك (*faẓlak*), 'redundancy,' 'orts' or 'excrement,' and actually departed (p. 285) in that year, being considered one of the unworthy in faith and religion! He received, however, a sum of five lakhs of rupees, to be distributed in alms at Makkah.

[5] A town under the mountain of the same name, to the east of Ṭihrān. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i. 543) he is called Saifu-l-Mulk *Lang* ('the lame').

[6] *Vide infra*, Ch IV, N6 LXVIII.

reason the wits gave him the nickname of *Saifu-l-Ḥukamā*.[1] He attended one of the grandsons of the venerable Shaikh Jāmi. Mūḥammad-i-Khabūshānī [2] by name, better known as *Makhdūm-zāda*,[3] and helped him on his journey to the next world. The words "Saifu-l-Ḥukamā killed him" [4] were found to give the date of his death. These few lines which were written on the physician Jalāl may well be applied to Saifu-l-Mulūk.

Verses.

"Regarding the physician Jalāl the Angel of Death,
Last night made his complaint to God, saying,
'Thy slave is helpless before the physician,
Where I kill one he kills a hundred.
Either depose him I pray Thee, from the position which he holds,
Or assign to me some other employment.'" [5]

He was held in much honour in India for some years during the time of Bairam Khān, and afterwards, but according to his own statement he received neither patronage nor honour, and returned to his country disappointed. Thence he wrote and despatched a satirical poem, which for gracefulness and the laughable nature of its subject has been equalled by the poems of few writers of this age. To whet the taste of my readers I transcribe here a few couplets from that poem, which recall themselves spontaneously to my memory.

"A pious calf, untimely born, hailing from Barbary,
Whom I have sometimes called a cat, sometimes the mouse of the saints,
A Brahman without caste-mark or thread, that is to say an Indian Shaikh

[1] *Saifu-l-Mulūk* means 'sword of kings,' *Saifu-l-Ḥukamā*, 'sword of physicians.'

[2] Khabūshān is near Mashhad. [3] 'Son of the master.'

[4] سيف الحكما كشت giving the date A.H. 1970 (A.D. 1562—63).

[5] The Urdū poet Sandā has some verses much resembling these in a satire on a physician named Ghaus.

I should be no Musalman were I to call such a one a Musalman.

Hold, Shafi'u-'d-dīn Muḥammad, cease your eternal mumbling of words,

That mumbling which I have likened to the chewing of a cud by a man.

Farīdūn,[1] in my anger against you, your shameless face

164 Have I likened to an anvil, not for its smoothness, but for its hardness."

Mīr Farīdūn replied with the following couplet:—

"Philosopher's tears are the boast of the ass of the angel of Death,

Of him whom I have called the doorkeeper of the house of misfortune."

When Mīr Mu'izzu-l-Mulk[2] left the army and entered upon a life of religious retirement at Dihlī Saifu-l-Mulūk wrote of him:

"The king of the ascetics, Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, is displeased with me.

Why, when have I, his slave, ever said that he repented of his ascetic life?"

III. Ḥakīm Zanbīl.[3]

He was distinguished for his learning, and had a place among those who were admitted to the emperor's company.

[1] Possibly Mirzā Farīdūn, son of Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 478. The text and both MSS. have, however, 'Mīr.'

[2] For an account of Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, and a zealous Shī'ah, on which account Badāonī hated him, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 381. His 'retirement' probably took place in 1565, when he fell into disgrace and was debarred, for a time, from appearing at court owing to his conduct in the expedition against the Khān-i-Zamān and Bahādur Khān. See vol. ii, text, p. 83. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk was ultimately drowned by Akbar's order, as a punishment for rebelling. This happened in 1579. See vol. ii, text, pp. 276, 277.

[3] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 442, 542. In the latter passage he is called 'Ḥakīm Zanbīl *Beg*! He was a commander of nine hundred. Zanbīl means 'a basket.' In the text he is called 'Ḥakīm Zīnal *Shīrāzī*.' I have corrected the meaningless name and have omitted 'Shīrāzī' which occurs in neither MS., and is an error, for Zanbīl was the brother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭabīb, of Sabzavār.

IV. Ḥakīm 'Ainu-l-Mulk of Shīrāz.[1]

He bore the *nom-de-plume* of Davā'ī,[2] and held a very high rank among the learned, besides being of a most noble disposition. He died in the city of Hāndiya, as has been related.[3] The following verses were written by him when I was escorting him to the gate of the garden of the late Kh'āja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the suburbs of Lāhōr. He wrote them and gave them to me as a keepsake as he bade me farewell, just before he set out[4] from Lāhōr for the Dakan, on his mission to Rāja 'Alī Khān of Burhānpūr.[5] That was the last time I saw him.

Verses.

"So full am I of love that the world will not contain me,

All places are full of my love, and no place will contain me.

If I care for naught but love it is no wonder,

Regard it rather as an example of my chastity, for wine does not content me.

[1] He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician, Muḥaqqiq-i-Davvāni. In 1564 he was sent as an envoy to Cingīz Khān of Gujarāt. In 1575 he was sent as an ambassador to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bījāpūr and returned to court in 1577, when he was made *faujdār* of Sambhal. In 1581 he defeated 'Arab Bahādur and other rebels of Bengal and was then made Ṣadr of Bengal. In 1585 he was made *dīvān* of Agra. He was then sent to the Dakan and received Hāndiya in *jagīr*. 'Azīz Kūka cancelled his *jāgīr* and he returned to court without leave. He was at first refused an audience but was subsequently reinstated and returned to the Dakan. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 480, and Badāonī, vol. ii, text, *passim*.

[2] *Vide infra*, Ch. IV, No. XLIX.

[3] On Sep. 2, 1595. See vol. ii, text, 403. [4] In 1593 or 1594.

[5] Eleventh king of Khāndesh, of the Fāruqī dynasty, reigned 1576—1596. See *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, p. 235 *et passim*.

165 Why do you ask me of that which I myself do not know.
Verily I am the mystery of unity, though even that mystery cannot contain me."

Other verses by 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

"No desert place has been seen without a sign of some habitation.
But against the incurable pain of love no plans avail.
I became the prey of one fair as a gazelle, but when I looked intently.
(I saw) that there was nothing in the game-straps but a pure soul."

V. Ḥakīm Masīḥu-l-Mulk, of Shīrāz.[1]

He had been brought up by the physician Najmu-d-dīn 'Abdu-'llāh, the son of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥasan. He had the disposition of a religious and also sound faith. He was exceedingly well skilled in medicine. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan and was sent with Sulṭān Murād[2] to Gujarāt and the Dakan. In Mālwa death cut short the (silver) cord of his hope.

VI. Ḥakīm-i-Miṣrī.[3]

He was well skilled both in the theory and the practice of medicine and learned in all traditional learning. He had some acquaintance with the profane sciences, such as exorcism, etymology, and the formation of broken plurals. He is a cheerful soul and a good companion, whose very approach is a blessing. He put forth his best efforts in treating Shaikh Faiẓī in his last illness, but all to no avail. What indeed could he do in the face of the irresistible decree of fate, before which all are helpless and dumb. If medicine could prolong the life physicians should never die.

[1] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 543.

[2] The second of Akbar's sons who survived childhood He was appointed governor of Gujarat in 1593.

[3] He was a commander of four hundred. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 491.

The *ḥakīm* sometimes wrote droll verses in Persian, an example of which is the following couplet which he wrote on Kh'aja 166 Shamsu-d-dīn of Khawāf,[1] the *Dīvān*.

Couplet.

"What overbearing conduct is this of Kh'āja Shamsu-d-dīn's ?
He intrudes, God forbid it,[2] upon the domain of medicine!"

One day, on seeing an oleander, which in Arabic is called *diflā*, in bloom, he uttered the following hemistich :—

"The locks leap up like flame from the head of the *diflā*."

When the emperor built a dais in the courtyard of the *masjid* at Lāhōr and issued an order to the effect that anybody who wished to do so might recite their prayers there in his presence, Ḥakīm-i-Miṣrī wrote the following verses :—

"Our king has founded a *masjid*
O ye faithful, good fortune may it bring!
It is good policy also in this *masjid*
To recite and reckon up our prayers."

He was very simple-minded and unselfish, and for this reason acquired but little wealth. He produced, however, some practical treatises on medicine. He died in Burhānpūr in Khāndēsh and was buried in the neighbourhood of that city.[3]

[1] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 445.

[2] I follow here the reading of the MSS. viz :—ماش, which I take to be contraction of ماشا الله ('God forbid'). The text has باش of which I cannot make sense in this connection. The true reading may be پاش ('his foot'), in which case the translation of the hemistich would be, 'His intruding foot encroaches upon the domain of medicine.'

[3] This history was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596) so that according to Badāonī Ḥakīm Miṣrī died before that date, but Abū-l-Faẓl in the *Akbar-nāma* mentions his death in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01) and says that he saw his friend on his death-bed. There is no means of reconciling this discrepancy or of deciding the question. The *Ṭabaqāt* praises him for his practical knowledge of medicine and his good disposition, but his death is not mentioned there.

VII. Ḥakīm 'Alī.[1]

He is sister's son to Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk and was the pupil of his uncle and of Shāh Fatḥu-'llah of Shīrāz, in medicine, and studied traditional learning under Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabī. Notwithstanding his great learning in the holy law and in *Sunnī* theology, his malignancy in adhering to the *Zaidī*[2] sect and his obstinacy in the *Shī'ah* heresy, in which matters he resembles the other physicians of the age, are as great as ever they were.[3] His excellence in acquired knowledge, and especially in the science of medicine, is extreme, and he is passionately devoted to the practice of the healing art, but as he is but a youth, self-opinion-
167 ated and of limited experience, it sometimes happens that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily has a taste of the draught of extinction, and notwithstanding the fact that he was the pupil of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh of Shīrāz, he ordered him, when he was in an ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage,[4] thereby handing him over to death, the executioner.

"To drink with him is death to the senses."

[1] He came poor and destitute from Gīlān to India, but became in course of time a personal attendant on Akbar. In A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580) he was sent as ambassador to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bījāpūr and was well received, but before he could be sent back with presents for his master 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was slain by a eunuch. In 1593 Ḥakīm 'Alī constructed a wonderful reservoir (*ḥauẓ*) at Āgra, and in the following year was a commander of 700 and had the title of Jālīnūsu-z-Zamān ('the Galen of the Age'). He treated Akbar immediately before his death. Akbar had dysentery, or acute diarrhœa, which 'Alī checked by a powerful astringent. Costive fever and strangury ensued, and 'Alī then administered an aperient, which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died. In 1609 Jahāngīr visited 'Alī's reservoir and made him a commander of two thousand. 'Alī died on April 10 of that year.

[2] The followers of Zaid bin 'Alī, who caused a dissension among the *Shī'ahs* by refusing to curse the first two *Khalīfahs*.

[3] Jahāngīr (*Tūzuk*, p. 74) says of Ḥakīm 'Alī that he was without equal as a physician, was an excellent Arabic scholar, and had written a commentary on the *Qānūn*, but that he had more application than brains, that his looks were better than his morals, and his behaviour better than his heart, for that he was, on the whole, a bad and unprincipled man.

[4] Badāonī has, perhaps, let his prejudice against the *Shī'ah ḥakīm* run away with him here. According to another account Fatḥu-'llah, who thought that he understood medicine better than Ḥakīm 'Alī did, ate the pottage against his doctor's advice, and presently died.

VIII. Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ of Gīlān.[1]

He obtained favour in the emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of state. He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension, and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments, prose and poetry. He was no less a byword for his infidelity and all other reprehensible qualities.[2] I heard, when the *ḥakīm* first arrived at Court, that he used to say, "The only things worth considering are *Khusrav* and these twelve couplets." He always spoke of Anwarī as "Anwariak the flatterer," and likened him to Mīr Bādanjān, who was the buffoon of his time. Of

[1] Masīḥu-d-dīn Abū-l-Fatḥ, son of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzaq, *Ṣadr* of Gīlān, and brother of Ḥakīm Ḥumām and Ḥakīm Nuru-d-dīn. He and his brothers arrived in India in 1576 (vol. ii, text, 211) and were well received. Four years later Abū-l-Fatḥ was made *Ṣadr* and *Amīn* of Bengal. He was captured by the rebels, but escaped and returned to court. In 1586 Abū-l-Fatḥ was sent to help Rājā Bīr Bar against the Yūsufzais in Sawād and Bajaur, but was reprimanded on his return, as the disastrous result of the campaign was rightly attributed to his and the Rājā's insubordination against Zain Khān Kūka. In 1588-89 he went with Akbar to Kashmīr and thence to Zābulistān, but on the march he fell sick and died, and was buried at Ḥasan Abdāl.

[2] See vol. ii, text, p. 211. Badaonī says, 'The eldest brother (Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ) by means of his winning address soon obtained great influence with the emperor, and flattered him openly, complying with him in all questions of religion and the faith, and even going in advance of him so that he was soon admitted as an intimate companion of his majesty. Soon after there came to court from Persia Mullā Muḥammad-i-Yazdī, who was nicknamed Yazīdī, and joined them, and poured unlimited abuse on the companions of the prophet, relating strange stories of them, and tried hard to make the emperor a *Shī'ah*. He was soon left behind by the bastard Bīr Bar, Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl, and Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ, who turned the emperor entirely aside from the faith, and led him to reject inspiration, prophecy, the miracles of the prophets and the saints, and the whole law."

Khāqāni he used to say, "If he were now living he would be much improved, for whenever he came to my house I would box his ears for him, to arouse him from his sleepiness, and when he went hence to Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl's house he also would box his ears, and between us we should improve his poetry.

IX. Ḥakīm Ḥasan of Gīlān.[1]

He was noted for his natural quickness of wit, but he had not learning in proportion, though he possessed excellent qualities and praiseworthy attributes.

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X. Ḥakīm Humām.[2]

He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ, and his disposition was better than his brother's. Although it was not naturally good, yet it cannot be said to have been naturally evil. Ḥakīm Ḥasan, Shaikh Faiẓī, Kamālā the *Ṣadr*, and Ḥakīm Humām [3] all died one after the other within the space of a month, and all the wealth which they had amassed disappeared in a moment, vanishing as completely as though it had been sunk in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and to them nothing remained but the wind of vain regrets. But this indeed is and has been the common fate of all courtiers, both dead and living, namely, that, in spite of the treasures of Qārūn [4] and Shaddād [5]

[1] In the Lakhnau edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* he is wrongly called 'Ḥakīm *Ḥusain* of Gīlān,' and is described as a man of praiseworthy morals.

[2] He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ and came to India with him. His real name was Humāyūn, but when he came to court he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī ('slave of Humāyūn'). Akbar gave him the name of Humām, which means 'hero' or 'magnanimous prince.' (Mr. Blochmann in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 474, note 2, has apparently mistaken it for *Ḥammām* 'a bath' or *Nammām* 'a slanderer'). He held the office of Bakāwal Beg and, though only a commander of 600, was a personal friend of Akbar and had great influence at court. In the 31st year he was sent with Ṣadr-i-*Jahān* (*q. v.*) as an envoy to Tūrān, and returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died November 9, 1595.

[3] See vol. ii, text, pp. 205, 206.

[4] The Korah of the Scriptures.

[5] Shaddād the son of 'Ād, King of Yaman. See *Qur'ān* lxxxix, 5, and vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 261 and note 6.

which they are enabled to amass, they depart hence often without so much as a shroud, and bearing on their broken necks the affliction of their malignity, the load of eternal disappointment and everlasting ignominy—And this, too, is the saying of 'Isa (on whom be peace!), which he spoke to the world, likening it in parable to an old woman, "Woe to thy living husbands, they believe not on the fate of thy husbands who are no more!"

"Surrender thy soul to the Beloved, else shall death snatch it from thee!"

"Judge thou for thyself, my soul, which of the two is the better."

The *ḥakīm* died in Lāhōr, and his body was carried thence to the camping ground of Ḥasan Abdāl and interred beside that of his brother.

XI Ḥakīm Aḥmad, of Tatta.[1]

He was a good theologian who was impelled by his own shameless assurance to pose as a physician. His learning was extensive, and he had travelled throughout Arabia and Persia. He was a cheerful soul, but somewhat disordered in mind, a prey to vain desires, and a pretender to honours to which he had no claim. I constantly admonished him, reminding him that he had no right to the rank of a *Sayyid*, and that groundless claims of this sort met with scant consideration in India. I told him if he had any regard[2] for the faith, to profess himself a true Musal- 169
mān, for that in these latter days nothing remained of the true faith but its name. But my admonitions availed nothing, and he met with the just reward of his deeds. I saw him after he had received his death-wound from Mīrzā Fūlād,[3] and I swear

[1] Ḥakīm Aḥmad was a bigoted *Shī'ah* who used to curse and revile the companions of Muḥammad and all *Sunnīs*, including his own ancestors, who had been *Sunnīs*. See vol. ii, text, 317.

[2] دین دره . The word دره is carelessly omitted from the text, though both manuscripts have it.

[3] See vol. ii, text, 319, 364. Mīrzā Fūlād Beg Barlās enticed Aḥmad from his house at midnight on the pretext that the emperor had sent for him, and murdered him in the street, in Lāhōr, 'on account of his bigotry in the

by God, the God of whose Godhead there is no doubt, that the *ḥakīm's* face appeared to others, as well as to me, exactly like the head of a hog, and the words "the hellish hog" [1] were found to give the date of his death. Shaikh Faiẓī found another chronogram in the words, "on the twenty-fifth of the month of *Ṣafar*." [2] I found two chronograms for the event in the following couplet slightly altered from the *Ḥadīqah*,[3] which is applicable equally to the slayer and the slain.

"And we adhered to the certain presumptions."

Another person found a chronogram in the words, "Hail, dagger of Fūlād!" [4]

(*Shī'ah*) faith, and other annoyances which Fūlād had experienced at his hands.' This occurred in January, 1588. Aḥmad's abuse of the orthodox *Khalīfahs* is given as the cause of Fūlād's act, but from the earlier passage it is clear that the murderer had some other motive. Moreover, when Fūlād was asked by Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ, at the instance of Akbar, whether it was religious zeal which had prompted the deed he replied, 'Had it been only religious zeal I should have attacked a greater than Aḥmad.' Although the ladies of the *ḥaram*, who admired Fūlād's courage, interceded for him, he was executed by being bound to the foot of an elephant. Aḥmad lingered for three or four days and then 'went to his own place.' Badāonī says that he saw 'the dog' in his death agony, and noticed the change in his face. This, which is called *maskh*, is said by *Sunnīs* to happen frequently to *Shī'ahs*, because they revile the companions of the prophet. Compare the account of Faiẓī's death-bed, *infra*, Ch. IV, No. CVII. After Aḥmad's burial Faiẓī and Abū-l-Faẓl had a guard set over his tomb, but when the court left Lāhor for Kashmīr 'the people of Lāhor one night exhumed his impure corpse and burnt it.'

[1] خوک سقری giving the date 996 (A.D. 1588).

[2] دریست و پنج ماه صفر. There is something wrong with this chronogram. It gives the date 1153.

[3] Probably the *Ḥadīqatu-l-Ḥaqīqat wa Sharī'atu-ṭ-Ṭarīqah*, otherwise known as the *Fakhrīnāma* by Sanā'ī. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 35 note 1, 57 note 1. I cannot, however, find a chronogram in the couplet. One hemistich gives 1049, and the other 1132.

[4] Or 'Hail, dagger of steel!' (زهی خنجر فولاد) *Fūlād* means 'steel. The chronogram gives the correct date, 996 (A.D. 1588).

XII. Ḥakīm Luṭfu-'llāh, of Gīlān.[1]

He was well known as a clever practitioner, and his learning was very great.

XIII. Ḥakīm Muẓaffar, of Ardastān.[2]

When a young man he was physician to Shāh Ṭahmāsb.[3] He came to India and was here highly regarded. He is a young man of great piety, and lives cleanly. When he attends the sick his very footstep seems to bring them good luck. Although he has not much learning, his practical experience is very great.

XIV. Ḥakīm Fatḥu-'llāh, of Gīlān.[4]

He has read very many works on medicine, and his knowledge of astronomy also is great. He has written a Persian commentary on the *Qānūn*. He has now gone to Kābul to treat Qilīj Khān.

XV. Shaikh Bīnā.[5]

He is the son of Shaikh Ḥasan, the quack doctor of Sirhind. His skill in surgery is great, and in the treatment of elephants he 170

[1] Brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ and Ḥakīm Humām. He was a commander of two hundred. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 518.

[2] Ardastān is a town lying between Kāshān and Yazd. In the *Ṭabaqat* this physician is called Ḥakīm Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar. Under Akbar he was a commander of two hundred, but Jahāngīr in 1606 gave him the rank of a commander of 3,000, with 1,000 horse (*Tūzuk*, 37). Jahāngīr heard of his death on Sep. 14, 1607. In the *Tūzuk* (p. 59), where he calls him Jalālu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Ardastānī, he says that his practice was greater than his learning. He praises him very highly.

[3] Who, according to Jahāngīr, wrote a verse on Muẓaffar: 'He is a pleasing physician, come, let us all fall sick.'

[4] In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign Fatḥu-'llāh had the rank of commander of 1,000, with 300 horse (*Tūzuk*, p. 34) According to the *Pādshāhnāma*, i, *b*, 350, he returned to his native country, where he died. There is no authority for Blochmann's statement (*Āīn*, i, 542) that he committed suicide. His grandson, of the same name, was a physician at the court of *Shāhjahān*.

[5] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 543. Shaikh Bīnā had a son, Shaikh Ḥasan or Ḥassu, who, under Jahāngīr, attained great honours. Hasan apparently received

is one of the wonders of the age. Latterly, he has become the prey of mischievous hallucinations.

There are also among the physicians others, obscure Musalmans[1] and accursed Hindūs,[2] from writing of whom my heart revolts.

the title of Muqarrab Khān from Akbar, or from Jahāngīr in Akbar's reign (*Tūzuk*, p. 12). He rose to be a commander of 5,000, and was successively governor of Gujarāt, Bihār, and Āgra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, and died at the age of ninety. In the 41st year of Akbar's reign Shaikh Bīnā and his son succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight.

[1] In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 542—544, eleven Muhammadan physicians besides those mentioned by Badāonī are mentioned. Shaikh Aḥmad, of Thatha, is not there mentioned. The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions all those described here and five others.

[2] In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 544) four Hindu physicians are mentioned, and in the *Ṭabaqāt* six.

CHAPTER IV.

An Account of the Poets of the Reign of the Emperor Akbar.

A full account of the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akbar is given in the *Nafā'isu-l-Ma'āṣir*, well known as the *Taẕkirāh* of Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah,[1] which is the source from which the materials for this brief account are extracted. Some of these poets have composed *dīvāns*. I have written of those with whom I was acquainted, whom I have even seen, whether near or from afar, or who have acquired fame.

I. Ghazālī of Mashhad.[2]

When his life was attempted in 'Irāq on account of his infidelity and intemperance, he fled thence to the Dakan, and afterwards came to Hindūstān. The Khān-i-Zamān sent him one thousand rupees for his expenses, and wrote from Jaunpūr a witty epigram which contained an enigma in the poet's name.

"O Ghazālī, I adjure thee by the claims of the lord of Najaf[3]
That thou come to the slaves of the peerless one![4]
Since thou art without honour in that country[5]
Take thy head,[6] and come out of it."

[1] Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah was the brother of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf of Qazvīn, see above, c. II, No. XX. His *taẕkirah*, here referred to, I have never seen, and do not know where a copy of it is to be found. Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah wrote under the poetical name of Kāmī, see No. CXIV.

[2] The *Ātashkada-yi-Āẕarī* says that he wrote sixteen books, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions two books written by him, the *Asrār-i-Maktum*, and the *Rashḥātu-l-Ḥayāt*, to which the *Haft Iqlīm* adds a third, the *Mir'ātū-l-Kā'ināt*.

[3] 'Alī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, the fourth *Khalīfah*. *Ghazālī* was a *Shī'ah*, hence the force of the appeal.

[4] I believe that this refers to Akbar, but it may refer to God. It is not unlikely that the ambiguity is intentional.

[5] The Dakan.

[6] I have translated this phrase literally, as it contains the enigma. It

He was for some time with the Khān-i-Zamān and afterwards[1] entered the emperor's service and received the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*.[2] He compiled several *dīvāns* and a book of *maṣnavīs*. It is said that he has written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets.[3] Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He had great facility of expression in the language of the mystics. He died very suddenly in Aḥmadābād on Friday, Rajab 27, A.H. 980 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1572),[4]
171 and his majesty ordered that he should be buried in Sarkhej,[5] the resting-place of many of the great saints and famous kings of old. Qāsim Arsalān[6] wrote this chronogram for the date of his death, taking it down from the dictation of Qāsim *Kāhī*.[7]

"Last night *Ghazālī*, that accursed dog,
Went drunk and defiled to hell.
Kāhī wrote the date of his death
'A base infidel departed from this world.'"[8]

means 'take your own way,' just as we say, of a horse, 'give him his head.' The 'head' or first letter of Ghazālī is غ, which stands for 1000. Thus the expression also means here, 'Take a thousand (rupees).'

[1] According to the *Ṭabaqāt* Ghazālī remained in the service of the Khān-i-Zamān until the latter was killed (June, 1567), and then entered the emperor's service.

[2] 'King of poets,' or, as we say, 'poet laureate.' Faiẓī was his successor in the title.

[3] According to the *Ṭabaqāt* nearly 100,000. The *Mir'atu-l-'Ālam* agrees with Badoānī. The *Ātashkada-yi-Āzar* estimates his couplets at 40,000, and the *Haft Iqlīm* estimates them at 70,000.

[4] Faiẓī has a very neat chronogram, سنهٔ نهصد و هشتاد ('the year 980'), the numerical values of the letters of which give the sum 980.

[5] See *Ām-i-Akbarī*, ii, 241. Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411—1442), after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and many other princes are buried here. A variant is 'Sarkhec.'

[6] *Vide infra*, No IV.

[7] See the next notice.

[8] ملحد وبي رفت ز عالم, giving the date 980

Another chronogram—

"*Ghazālī* was a treasure-house of hidden meaning,
His resting-place is the pure earth of Sarkhej.
The date of his death, with the difference of one year only,
Is given by the words, 'Aḥmadābād and the dust of Sarkhej.'"[1]

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which I have not been able to discover in any *dīvān* written by him:—

"We heard a noise and opened our eyes from the sleep of nothingness.
We saw that the night of strife had not passed away, and fell asleep again."[2]

Couplets by Ghazālī.

"If in the *Ka'bah* thy heart wanders towards any, besides (the Lord of the *Ka'bah*),
The worship is all wickedness, and the *Ka'bāh* is to thee no more than an idol-temple.
But if thy heart is fixed on God, even though thou dwell in the wineshop,
Drink wine fearlessly, thine end can be nought but good."

"We fear not death, but this is our misfortune
That we must remain disappointed of regarding the lovely ones of this world."

"Those who are at rest in the dust were all slain by thy sword.
The sword of Death has had no opportunity here."
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[1] This chronogram is entirely wrong. Both the text and the MSS. have 'Sarganj' for 'Sarkhej,' and the rhyme necessitates this reading, which, if adopted, gives the date 1021. If the correct name of the place, Sarkhej, be substituted we get the date 986—still six years wrong.

[2] A description of life.

"We are within the compass of a revolving lantern [1]; a whole world remains in astonishment therein,
Man whirls madly therein like the figures on the lantern."

"The zealot's cloak is stretched over his bent form like the string on a bow,
But the debauchees fear not the arrows of his prayers."

A Quatrain.

"My mind is an ocean which contains a gem,
My tongue is a sword which has an edge,
The clarion of my pen has the sound of the last trump,
I am the bird of the angels, my words are winged."

He has introduced into one *qaṣīdah* all the numerals from one to a hundred. This is its opening couplet—

"By *one* word from thy *two* ruby lips Masīh [2] obtained *three* favours;
Eternal life, and graceful speech, and power to give life."

"We are wine, and round our necks is the collar of the wine-jar,
We have a power of intoxication in which the whole world is lost."

II. Qāsim-i-Kāhī.[3]

He was Miyān Kāhi of Kābul. Although his verses are crude
173 and his ideas all stolen from others, yet they are written in a connected style, and in this respect *Kāhī* had no equal. He was well versed in astronomy, rhetoric, and the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, and wrote a treatise on music. In short, he had no equal in his time in knowledge of the mysticism of the *Ṣūfīs*, the art of composing enigmas, history, elocution, and various other arts. Although he had had the advantages of associating with the *shaikhs* of former days, among them that lord of his age Maulavī Jāmī, (may his tomb be hallowed!) and others, yet all his life was spent in heresy and infidelity. But notwithstanding these ill qualities his liberality, generosity, open-handedness and bounty were extreme, and he was always surrounded by a crowd of *qalandars*, lewd fellows, and courtezans, and associated unrestrainedly with dogs. It would seem that such conduct is the invariable attribute of one bearing the title of *Malīku-sh-Shu'arā*,[1] as has been said in the verses—

"Hearken to this advice from *Saifi*,
That it may suffice thee all thy life,
On good poetry and a handsome boy,
Pin thy faith, no matter whose they be."

I have no concern with his religion, but I reproduce the following selections from his verses:—

[1] A lantern which revolves by the smoke of the candle within, and has on the sides of it figures of men and animals.

[2] The Messiah.

[3] Kāhī ('straw-like') is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 566). 'He is known as Miyān Kāhī He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition a few low men gathered around him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know his circumstances often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* it is said that he had many accomplishments and was specially distinguished in the art of music, that he lived a free and unconventional life, and attained the age of 120. Miyān Kāl is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhāra. According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzar* he was born in Turkistān and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Tīmūr, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān. Kāhī was well received by Humāyūn. According to the *Haft Iqlim* Kāhī's name was Sayyid Najmu-d-dīn Muḥammad, his *kunyah* being Abū-l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old he visited Jāmī (died 1493-94) and afterwards Hāshimi of Kirmān. He was a pugilist and a runner, and lived a free life, following no creed or doctrine. He lived long at Banāras, and afterwards at Āgra, where he died May 17, 1580. See also vol. i. trans. Ranking. p. 584, notes 1 and 3, and p. 601.

[1] I have translated literally, although the passage makes it appear that Kāhī held the title of *Malīku-sh-Shu'arā*, which he never bore. Badāoni is running atilt at Faiẓi, who was very fond of dogs, and means to say that Kāhi was a regular *Malīku-sh-Shu'arā* in his conduct

Couplets.

"Like thy shadow we are with thee, whithersoever thou goest,
It may be that in time thou wilt shew us some kindness.
O ancient of love, seek the company of one with Yūsuf's cheeks.
Small wonder were it if so thou becamest young like Zulaikhā
Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which adorns the pleasaunce of Kābul,
No crow or kite art thou that thou shouldst come to Hindūstān."

174 "Grief for thine absence has reduced my body to the likeness of a spider's web,
It is for this reason that the corner of a ruin is my dwelling."

He set the two odes of which the opening couplets are given below to sweet music, so that they have become known throughout the world and are sung in all assemblies, enlivening alike the banquets of kings and the gatherings of mystics

Opening Couplet of the First Ode.

"The bird which began to flap his wings on the forehead of Majnūn
Inflamed in his brain the fire of his grief for Lailā."

Opening Couplet of the Second Ode.

"When the mirror is filled with roses, the reflection of the loved one's face,
The parrot who looks therein becomes a nightingale."

The following is an enigma [1] on the name of God —

[1] I have not attempted to solve either this enigma or the next. The verses run in the original—

بیست از هستیش کسی آگاه * ندا کان لا نهـار لهٗ

نارهٔ شـرع را شتافد هم * ز محمد نبی شگافنده ام

"Nobody has full knowledge of His essence,
From eternity without beginning has He been, He is limitless."

And the following is another enigma on the name of the prophet : —

"Since I journeyed along the road of the holy law,
My path has been divided from that of Muḥammad the prophet."

He was the author of a well-known *dīvān* and has also written a *maṣnavī* which he has entitled *Gul Afshān*, a reply [1] to the *Būstān* of *Sa'dī*, corresponding with it rhyme for rhyme. Its opening couplet is—

"To the world's Creator be praises from the soul,
To the soul's Creator a hundred worlds of praise." [2]

The following is another couplet by him —

"My cruel darling has killed thousands with her coquetries,
My spoilt darling still continues her coquetries."

"The rain of misfortune has broken on my grief-stricken body,
What misfortune is there that the heavens have not rained on my head ?"

"No narcissus blooms in the place of my pilgrimage,
My eyes are whitened with watching for thee."

The following couplet was written by him on a Hindū youth, a *Jōgī* :—

[1] جوب A poem written in imitation of another, and intended to compete with the original.

[2] This couplet runs as follows :—

جهان آفرین را بجان آفرین * بجان آفرین صدجهان آفرین

Sa'dī's Būstān begins—

بنام جهان دار جان آفرین * حکیم سخن بر زبان آفرین

"Thy flame-coloured face shines above the ashes on thy body like the lotus,
Or it may be that thy head-cloth has been reduced to ashes by thy resplendent face."

175 But the idea developed in this couplet very much resembles that which is the motive of the following couplet by Mullā *Vaṣfī*[2] of Kābul:—

"It is not the burning fever of separation from thee which has induced me to choose the dust for a bed,
Rather is it that my bed has been burnt to ashes by the ardent fever which possesses me, sick with my longing for thee."

When Mullā Qāsim was told that most of his poetical ideas were stolen from others, he used to reply, "I have never asked you to believe that my poems were wholly my own. If they please you not, take a pen-knife, and erase them from the copies of my *dīvān*." He has an excellent *qaṣīdah* on the astrolabe, which runs on into an encomium on the late emperor, Humāyūn. His copiousness of diction is well exemplified therein. When Kh'āja Mu'azzam Khān,[3] notwithstanding his lameness, came to visit Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* in his sickness, the Mullā composed the following extempore ode on the event, setting it to music at the same time:—

"Thou did'st halt in affected disdain one pace from the face of my longing,
May thy foot never pain thee more, my graceful cypress!
Howmuchsoever I recounted, in the night of separation, the joys of thy presence,
The tale of my long-drawn-out grief was not lessened."

One day the *Mullā* was walking in the emperor's garden, on the far side of the Jamna, when the poet *Subūḥī*[4] met him, and as

[1] *Sc.*, the ashes of cow-dung, بهبوت (*bhabhūt*) with which Hindū ascetics besmear themselves.

[2] See below, No. CLXII.

[3] The brother of Akbar's mother.

[4] *Vide infra*, No. LXXI.

soon as he saw him said, "Sir, have you heard that a man who accepted Islām late in life[1] has died in 'Irāq?" The *Mullā* replied, "May you be spared!"[2]

When the imperial army marched to Gujarāt, Mullā *Ghazālī* accompanied it in the early stages of the journey. It so happened that a false report of the death of Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was spread abroad, and when *Ghazālī* heard it, he composed the following chronogram, which is, although far-fetched, and based on a false rumour, not without elegance.

"The wretched *Kāhī* left the world.
Should you wish to know the date of his death,
Know that since he could not help but go he was constrained, 176
And 'Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* went from the world.'"[3]

But before this lying tale became a fact Mullā Qāsim-i-*Kāhī* was enabled to take his revenge by composing a chronogram on the death of *Ghazālī*, and a second one also, as full retribution. These have already been cited.[4] But,

"What can a liar tell, but a lie?"
Although the following couplet is true,
"I have seen poets, within my experience,
Without followers, without offspring, and without any successful issue of their labours,"

and all the poets of the present age together, both small and great, are, with the exception of three or four aged men, adherents of the *Jauratī* and *Ḥaidarī*[5] sects, yet these two whom I have just mentioned were the guides and leaders of all the rest, and left the heritage of their baseness to their followers and dependants, dividing it among them in due proportion to the natural fitness

[1] کهن مؤمن. I think this is the meaning of the phrase, but cannot be sure.

[2] I.e., 'to accept Islām.'

[3] از جهان رفت قاسم کاهي giving the date 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

[4] See above, p. 240, note 8.

[5] The *Ḥaidarīs* are the followers of Quṭbu-d-dīn 'Alī, founder of a mystic sect. I have no information regarding the *Jauratīs*.

and ability of each one to avail himself of it, and with due regard to the claims which each had acquired by former companionship with them.

When I regard this vile gang I am oppressed by the fear that the poets of old [1] (may God protect us from them!) may perhaps have resembled them. God forbid that it should have been so! Yet the experience of ages tells us that worldly people in each particular period follow closely in one another's footsteps and that there are no radical differences of disposition among them.

III. Kh'āja Ḥusain of Marv.[2]

He was one of the sons of that saint of the Lord and traveller in the path of the Eternal God, Shaikh Rukn-u-d-dīn 'Alā'u-d-daulah of Samanān (may God sanctify his tomb!). In those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, he was the pupil of Maulānā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn and Mullā Ḥanafī, and in the study of the holy law he was the disciple of the last and best of the sages and traditionists Shaikhu-bnu-Ḥajar-i-Ṣāni

[1] Badāoni is possibly referring to those poets who wrote against Muḥammad. See *Qur'ān*, c. xxvi.

[2] Kh'āja Ḥusain is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 574). 'He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the court of Humāyūn and was also during this reign highly favoured.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is by origin the son of a *vazīr*. He has acquired learning, and was distinguished above his fellows by a high degree of intelligence and the sharpness of his understanding. He was for years in the service of the emperor Humāyūn and was one of his intimates, and a member of his heavenly assembly' See vol. ii, text, pp. 120, 132. Kh'āja Ḥusain composed a *qaṣīdah* on the birth of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr) containing chronograms for the accession of Akbar and the birth of Salīm. Badāoni says that the first hemistich of each couplet is a chronogram for the former event, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for the latter, but this is not so. He also composed a *qit'ah* of seven couplets on the birth of Salīm and Murād, the first hemistich of each couplet of which purports to be a chronogram for Salīm's birth, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for Murād's. There are, however, some errors in the chronograms. For the *qaṣīdah* he received two lakhs of *tankas* and it was, perhaps, this reward to which Abū-l-Faẓl referred when he said that Ḥusain sold his encomiums at a high price.

(may God have mercy on him!). His facility in verse, his elegance in literary style, his rhetorical flourishes, his fine delivery, 177 his polish and copiousness of diction, and his wit, were unrivalled. He composed a *dīvān*, and his poetry, though not in the first rank, is of respectable quality. The following couplets are by him:—

"O, thou in whose absence the tears drop from my eyelashes,
While the thought of sleep [1] is banished from my eyes!
Thou didst display thyself to me in such wise as thou wert not,
Alas! that thou wert not such as thou didst seem."

It seems likely that this couplet is an imitation of the following quatrain:—

"We say that maybe we are of the faithful,—but we are not.
And that we are of the truthful and sincere,—but we are not.
We are adorned outwardly, but inwardly we are otherwise,
Alas! that we are not what we seem to be!"

The following couplets are also by *Marvī*:—

"With me thy brow is wrinkled like the rosebud,
With others thy lips open in smiles, like the pistachio."

"I wish that the love which I bear to thee,
Should be known to me, and to thee, and to God."

The following couplets in praise of Muḥammad are from the translation of the *Singhāsan Batīsī*,[2] of which His Majesty ordered this poet to make a translation, which was never completed:—

[1] The text and the MSS. have خیال و خواب ('ideas *and* sleeps'): خیال خواب makes better sense.

[2] This book is not mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* as one of those translated by Akbar's orders; but see vol. ii, text, p. 183. Badāoni was apparently ordered to complete the translation He says that the book is a collection of thirty-two stories concerning Rājā Bikramājīt (Vikramāditya)

"The sweet-voiced nightingale of the garden of revelation[1]
Whose eyes were anointed with the antimony of us base crows,
Who in his unquestionable abrogation of the Psalms of David,
Has drawn his pen through the copies of the Pentateuch and the Gospels,
To his high court is prophecy entrusted.
To him, the chief of the prophets and the seal of apostleship."

A Quatrain.

"I am he whose kingdom is the realm of words;
178 The money-changer of wisdom is the appraiser of my threaded gems.
The exordium "Be!" is but one leaf of my writings;
The secrets of the two worlds are on the tip of my pen."

In the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) he obtained permission to depart from Hindūstān and to go to his native land, and Shaikh Faiẓī, who was his pupil, found the date of his departure in the words "may his shadow be extended!"[2] He went to Kābul and was received with consideration and honour by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, but when he presented his *pīshkash*[3] of merchandise, goods, valuables, and precious articles from India, he rose from his place and took the list of his presents from the hands of the registrar of complimentary presents and detailed and explained the quantity, quality and name of each description of cloth, even going so far as to give the price of each. The *Mirzā* was much displeased at this breach of decorum, and, rising from an assembly with which he was disgusted, ordered that all who pleased should fall on the spoil and carry off what they could,

of Mālwa (see *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 211), and that the book resembles the *Tūtīnāmā* ('Tales of a Parrot'). Badāoni called his translation *Nāma-yi-Khirad-afzā*.

[1] پیغام, literally 'sending' or 'apostleship'

[2] عالی, giving 980, one year in excess.

[3] 'Complimentary' present.

so that in the space of an hour everything disappeared. The *Khwāja* shortly after this died in Kābul.

IV. Qāsim-i-Arsalān.[1]

He wrote poetry under the *nom-de-plume* of Arsalān on account of his father's claim to descent from Arsalān-i-Jāzib, one of the great nobles of the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Ghaznavī. His native place was Ṭūs[2] and he grew to manhood in Transoxiana. He was a poet sweet of song, welcome to all, both great and small, for his personal beauty and graceful wit, adorned with the ornament of an open and cheerful disposition and with the quality of sociability and social amiability. In the composing of chronograms he had no equal. He was the author of a *dīvān*, and the following few couplets are of his making:—

"I wish to raise my head, at the resurrection, from a spot of earth
On which the foot of a fair one shall be lingering in graceful coquetry." 179

"O, thou who hardly givest up but half thy life, what place hast thou
Where lives are freely given by the hundred for one glance from the beloved?"

I remember something very like this latter couplet in an ode of the author of which I cannot quite recall the name. It is as follows:—

[1] Arsalān is mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 103) under the name of Nūru-'llah Qāsim Arsalān as one of the renowned calligraphists of the age. Abū-l-Faẓl describes him as a poet (*op. cit.*, i, 609) as follows: 'Qāsim Arsalān of Mashhad. He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth and spends it in a genial way.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He was a Mashhadi and was brought up in Transoxiana. He passed many years in the service of the emperor. He wrote the *Nastā'līq* script well. He held broad views on religion. He composed a *dīvān*.'

[2] A city of Khurāsān, the native town of Firdausi and of his master, Ḥakīm Asadī.

"What though I be alone with thee in lovers' meeting?
Thy modesty repels me more than a thousand watchers."

Another couplet by Qāsim-i-Arsalān—

"Both letter and spirit of my reading mourn my lot,
Without thee how can I keep my regard intent on my book?"

"As we passed weeping to the loved one's dwelling,
A hundred times in each step we crossed a river of tears."

He has written the following verse descriptive of the mountain of Ajmīr, the holy burial place of the *Kh'āja*, the pole-star of pole-stars, Kh'āja Mu'īnu-d-dīn-i-Ajmīri-yi-Cishtī (may his tomb be hallowed!):—

"Lo! The mountain of Ajmīr, a mountain of ambergris,
The lodging of the chief of the leaders of Cisht.
What hill is this, that when it raises its head to the empyrean,
Has the ocean of the sky no higher than its midst?
The bodies of the sun and moon appear
From that hill no larger than the eagle's eye.[1]
Fountains there are therein, like to the sun in brilliancy,
Their sand[2] is the starry host of heaven,
Heaven's eagle[3] winged his flight,
To seek its summit, but his flight fell short.
Should but a stone be loosened from that fort,
It would in its downward course loosen the strongholds of heaven from their foundations.
That darting brilliance which issues from the clouds is not lightning,
It is nought but the sword-like summit of that mountain striking the sky.

[1] *i.e.*, so great a distance are they *below* it.

[2] The text has رنگ ('colour'). I follow the MSS., both of which have ریگ ('sand').

[3] نسر طائر ('the flying eagle'). The constellation Aquila.

Glancing from that mountain foot the beholder sees 180
The sky as a clear pool, and the moon as the fish's[1] eye.
The torrents which rush down from that awful stronghold would carry away a thousand hills such as Alwand and Alburz.[2]
When the eagle rises from the vase of the fortress' walls,
His shadow falls on the moon and sun.
Arsalān, behold the loftiness of its mere foundations!
The sun seeks protection beneath their shadow."

The *Mulla* in the year in which the emperor returned from Ātak took up his dwelling in Lahōr. He died in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587).

I should state here that the three or four poets whose biographies I have already given have been mentioned first on account of the fame which they acquired as poets only, and of the ill-luck which they brought with them to the world, as they occurred in my mind, and in no particular order. Henceforward for ready reference and for the sake of method I shall mention the poets in the alphabetical order of their poetical *cognomina*.

V. Ātashi of Qandahār.[3]

He came to Hindūstān with the Emperor Bābar, and was at first a *vāqi'ah-navīs*.[4] Subsequently, in the service of his late Majesty also he held several high posts, and died in Lāhōr in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66). Some of his verses are the following:—

"In thine absence my tears by degrees became a sea, behold!
Come, sit in my eye as in a boat and make a voyage of the sea!"

[1] The 'fish' here signifies the constellation Pisces.

[2] Alwand is a high mountain in Hamadān. Alburz is either mount Alburz in the Caucasus (18572 feet) or the Alburz mountains between Māzandarān and Ṭihrān, the highest point in which is mount Damāvand (19,400 feet).

[3] Ātashi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

[4] A news-writer.

"Aye, have a dagger at thy waist, a sword in thy hand, a frown on thy brow,
Thirst for blood and be cruel and still implacable."

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181 "What can one do with one who knows nought of those who are faithful?
What can one do with one whose body shines as silver and who still inclines to wrath?"

"The crescent moon shines in the gloaming on the eve of *'Id*,[1]
Setting us free to haste to seek a cup of rosy wine."

At the time when his late Majesty recovered from his indisposition in the Fort of Victory, this poet composed the following quatrain:—

"A thousand thanks to God, that His Majesty the Emperor is freed from the sorrow of sickness,
That he has arisen and seated himself once more on the throne of his glory.
The news of his recovery was conveyed to me by the words,
'Thanks be to God that His Majesty has recovered.'"

VI. Ashraf Khān, Mīr Munshī.[2]

He was a Ḥusainī *Sayyid* of the holy city of Mashhad. He was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world

[1] The appearance of the new moon on the evening of Shawwāl 1, or, as we should say, on the evening of the last day of Ramazān, is the signal for the breaking of the thirty days' fast. The Muḥammadans reckon their days as do the Jews, from sunset to sunset. The *Īdu l-Fiṭr* is the festival at the end of the fast.

[2] Muḥammad Asghar, a Ḥusainī Sayyid of Sabzavār, according to the *Ān* (i. 389), but of Mashhad according to the *Ma'āṣiru l-Umarā* and the *Ma'āṣiru l-Ālam*. Asghar was a clever writer, expert in his style; and a renowned calligrapher, who improved the *Ta'līq* very much. He also understood *Jafr*, or witchcraft. He was in Humāyūn's service, and had received

in the seven different styles of penmanship. He was one of the most trusted among the nobles, and it is a pity that he should have merited the name of poet, but since he had natural poetical ability, the following verses of his are quoted:—

"Before I have received a single cup from the hand of the cup-bearer of fate,
The stone of reproach strikes my wine-jar. What can I do?"

"We are those in this world whose hearts are sad,
A heart as sad as our own, we know not of."

A Quatrain.

"O, Lord! consume me not in the fire of Thy wrath! 182
But light the lamp of faith within the house of my heart;
And as for this robe of life which hangs torn on my body,
Of Thy mercy stitch it again with the thread of forgiveness."

Another Quatrain.

"Free from the alloy and like fine gold came love from the assay,
Well were it to spend the cash of our lives in the business of love.
Since the expanse of thy beauty blossomed like the rose,
The thorns of love have pierced my breast as that of the nightingale is pierced."

VII. Amīr Qāzī, Asīrī.[1]

He possessed both learning and accomplishments. For some years he studied under Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, and was the best of all his

from him the post and title of *Mīr Munshi*. At Akbar's succession he was in Dihlī, and took part in the battle against Hemū. He was imprisoned by Bairam, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in A.H. 968 (A.D. 1560-61) when Akbar was in Māchīwāra on his way to the Siwāliks, where Bairam was. He was well received and got a *manṣab*. In the following year Akbar bestowed on him the title of Ashraf Khan. In 1574 he went with Mun'im to Bengal, and died at Gaur in 1575.

[1] Called in the *Ṭabaqāt* Mir *Ghāzi*, Asiri. Abu l-Fazl in the *Ān* (i. 599)

pupils. He was one of the most entertaining men of his time. As the climate of India did not suit him, and as he obtained no real promotion in the imperial service, in spite of his having been admitted to the circle of His Majesty's intimates, he went at length to his own country, and in the city of Rai, the native place of his ancestors, he obtained rest from the toils of the world and departed this life. The following verses are quoted as an indication of the copiousness of his imagination:—

"The jealous watcher himself has been our intermediary, while I suspected no fraud,
He has been enabled to interpose between us his own conditions."

"'Twas but yesterday that my loved one derided my piteous lot,
My grief and her derision were plain to see."

"To-day has my heart's anguish grown more acute,
183 For to-day it seems that my loved one is more than ever bent on my destruction."

"I am wounded to the heart by the arrow of a fair boy to whose hands time
Has not yet delivered a bow to sport withal."

"The hope of union with thee forbade me to surrender my life,
Else I would gladly have died when I parted from thee."

"I lament the presence of others when that silver-bodied one draws nigh,
It would seem that my tongue breaks into speech from constancy to her."

says that his name was Amir Qāzi and that he came from Rai, near Ṭihrān. He adds, 'he is a man of education.'

"The zest of union with her never leaves my heart.
For she spoke with me in graceful coquetry and looked for my coming."

VIII. Mir Imāmī, known as Mughbaca.[1]

He was a *Sayyid* of Kābul. In the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573–74) he fell from his horse in Jaunpūr, and died of the injuries which he received. He wrote a *dīvān*, and the following chronogram which he composed on the death of a graceful boy of rare beauty, named Sulṭān Caghatāi, is well known.

"Sulṭān Caghatā was the rose of the garden of beauty,
But death was his guide to the garden of Riẓwan.[2]
In the season of roses he set forth to journey from this garden,
Many hearts in mourning for him were drenched with their blood.
I asked of the mourning nightingale the date of his death,
He broke into lamentations and said, "The rose has left the garden!"[3]

"How shall I compare thy stature to the letter *alif*, O palm- 184
tree of life?
For *alif* is quiescent[4] while thy graceful form is ever in motion."

[1] Both the text and the MSS. have مغبچه (*manaḥca*), which is meaningless and etymologically improbable. I venture to substitute مغبچه, 'the Magian boy.'

[2] The keeper of the garden of Paradise.

[3] This chronogram is an enigma. The numerical value of باغ ('garden') is 1003 and of گل ('the rose') 50. If 'the rose' be taken from 'the garden' 953 (A.D. 1546-47) remains. This, then, is the date of Sultan Caghtāi's death.

[4] A grammatical conceit. *Alif* is quiescent (*i.e.* carries no vowel) until it is strengthened by *hamzah*.

"My heart in thinking on that sweet mouth is in the straits of perturbation,
Perturbation has confronted it from the place in which it is bred."

"Never do I forget thee, possessor of all sweet attributes.
Though thou forget me, yet do I never forget thee."

A Quatrain.

"For the proof of His existence what need is there of words,
Since He is all in all, both of what is manifest and what is hidden?
They tell me to open my mouth in denial of all that is apart from Him;
But what shall I deny? Where is there a trace of ought that is apart from Him?"[1]

Another Quatrain.

"The juggler who sits on the prayer-mat of the blue expanse of sky
Shines in the morning with the mark of piety on his face,
At midday he straightens himself up in prayer,
And when he, the leader of the prayers, made his inclination, the rest prostrated themselves."[2]

IX. Mir Sharīf-i-Amānī, of Iṣfahān.[3]

He wrote charming verses. He spent twenty years of his life in India, living in religious retirement. The following verses are from his pen:—

"The flood of my tears rushed towards her dwelling,
To wash the dust of strangers' feet from her threshold."

[1] This quatrain sets forth the pantheism of the *Ṣūfīs*.

[2] The sun's daily course is likened to the ritual prayers.

[3] Amānī is not mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* as a poet. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called Mīr Amānī, and one of his couplets is quoted, but no other account of him is given.

The water of life is but a type of thy ruby lips,
Where is a *Khizr*[1] to give his life in keen desire for them?" 185

"Like *Amānī*, in the desire of losing my head by a stroke of thy sword
I have entered the ranks of the army (of thy lovers) with nought but my life for my shield."

"It is not the presence of the stranger in thine assemblies to which I object,
But thy friendly glances for the stranger which I cannot endure."

X. Qāẓī Aḥmad-i-Ghaffārī of Qazvīn.[2]

He was a son of Imām Najmu-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-Ghaffār, who was the author of a compendium of the Shāfi'ī[3] doctrines. In learning, in elegance of literary style, in knowledge of history, and in geniality of disposition he was unrivalled. He wrote the *Nigāristān*,[4] a compendium the like of which has not been produced by the wit of anybody in this age, and wherein are related wondrous circumstances and strange occurrences. He also wrote the book *Nasḳh-i-Jahān-Ārā*,[5] the date of the composition of which is given by the title. It is a cursory history of the world from the time of Adam to the days of his holiness the seal of prophecy (may God bless and save him!). The Qāẓī towards the end of his life gave up the office of *vazīr*, which he held under the princes of 'Irāḳ, and after his resignation proceeded on a pilgrimage to the

[1] The guardian of the water of life.

[2] Qāẓī Aḥmad is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] The school of jurisprudence founded by Imām Shāfi'ī, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law.

[4] 'The Picture-Gallery.' There is a MS. of a *Nigāristān* by Ibn-i-Muḥammad Aḥmad (No. $\frac{m}{153}$) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[5] I have not been able to find any other mention of this work. The title gives the date 971 (A.D. 1563-64).

holy place (Makkah). After attaining the felicity of performing this pilgrimage he came to Hindūstan by way of the port of Dābul,[1] when the hand of fate, suddenly loosing the cord of the existence of that incomparable man, led him to the world of immortality. This occurred in the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567–68).

The following couplet is by him: –

"If that fair tyrant sit by me, after a lifetime of expectancy,
186 My heart will flutter in my breast, lest she should rise too soon."

XI. Mīr Ashkī of Qum.[2]

In his poetry he displayed a pleasing fertility of imagination, and he was an imitator of *Āṣafī*. In Āgra he placed the baggage for his journey to the next world on the back of Death's swift steed. I append some of his verses.

"He whose bosom is rent with grief in thine absence beat his head with a stone so violently
That the stone became nought but a handful of dust in his grasp."

[1] Both the text and the MSS. have دابل. The port was Dābul or Dābhol, a famous port on the west coast of India in Muhammadan times. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xi, 100

[2] In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 598) Abu-l-Faẓl says, 'Ashkī of Qum is a Ṭabāṭabā'ī Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.' The Ṭabāṭabā'ī Savyids are the descendants of the great-great-grandson of 'Alī, Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm, called Ṭabāṭabā from a defect in his speech which caused him to pronounce the letter ق like ط.

From the *Haft Iqlīm* we learn that Mir Ashkī was the son of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, *Muḥtasib* (public censor) of Qum in Persia Ashkī's elder brother, Hayzūrī, was also known as a poet Ashkī was attracted to India by the fame and success of Ghazālī, but he did not meet Ghazālī The number of his verses exceeded 10,000 and when on his death-bed he gave his several *dīwāns* to Mir Judā'ī to arrange. Mir Judā'ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water *Vide infra* No. XXXII. Daghistānī says that Ashkī died in Mīr Judā'ī's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlīm* is preferable.

"In grief at thine absence I will smite my head, wretched being that I am, with a stone.
Should my hand fail of its office I will strike my head upon the stone."
"I, thy candle, O my King, am a slave like Nuṣair,
Though decapitated a hundred times I yet live."
"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there like drunken men,
It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine instead of water."

"So much has my body melted away in grief at thine absence,
That if thou castest a chain on my neck it falls about my feet."

It is said that when he recited this last opening couplet before Maulānā Ṣādiq in Qandahār, and sought his approbation, the Manlānā said, "You have stolen this idea from Amir Khusrav of Dihlī, who says—

'So much has my mournful body melted in thine absence
That if thou placest a collar about my neck it falls to my feet.'"

Another Couplet by Ashkī.

"If I would fall in following thee smitten with the stone of calamity,
Stones rain upon me from every hair on my head prevent- 187
ing me from falling."

Ashkī seems to have used the metaphor of the stone so much as to leave nothing else for others to say upon the subject.

"See my feeble body among the dogs of thy street,
This one drags it one way, that one another."

"My hair hangs dishevelled from my head down to my feet,
My body appears in the midst of it like a single white hair."

XII. Yol Qulī Anīsī.[1]

He is a Sh̲āmlū Turkmān in the service of the Kh̲ān-i-Kh̲ānān. He writes pleasing poetry and has composed a *maṣnavī*. The following verses are his work:—

"My heart is a fire-temple when I think of thee, and on it
Is thy brand, like a black Hindū who tends the fire."

"When you see a tongue of flame deem it to be a tormented fire-worshipper
Whose soul has departed, while his body still dances in the fire-temple."

"Love is like the loadstone, for when its arrow enters the heart,
It cannot be removed till love itself in kindness draws it forth."

XIII. Mulla Ghanī, Amanī.[2]

He is a young man in the flower of manhood. He was for a long time in Gujarāt with Kh̲'āja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and at first assumed the *nom de plume* of *Kh̲anfī*, which the *Kh̲'āja* changed, giving him his present *takh̲allus*. He is now in the service of His Majesty's eldest son. His disposition is pleasing. The following quatrain is his:—

"I am one who can treasure up nought but grief;
Though I am all jealousy I cannot renounce the loved one,

[1] Anīsī is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 578), 'Anīsī Sh̲āmlū. His real name is Yol Qulī. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners. He is brave and sincere.' The *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* says that he was a good soldier and served as librarian to 'Alī Qulī Kh̲ān Sh̲āmlā, the Persian Governor of Hirāt, when he made the acquaintance of Shikibī and Maḥwī. He wrote at first under the *takhallus* of Jātū but the Persian prince, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, gave him the name of Anīsī, under which he is known in literature. When Hirāt was conquered by 'Abdu-'llāh Kh̲ān, Anīsī was captured by an Uzbak soldier and carried off to Transoxiana. He then went to India and entered the service of Mīrzā 'Abdur-i-Raḥīm, Kh̲ān-i-Kh̲ānān. He died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-06). He left a *maṣnavī*, a *dīvān*, and several *qaṣīdahs* in praise of the Kh̲ān-i-Kh̲ānān.

[2] According to the *Tabaqāt* Amanī came from Bukhārā, and was for a long time in the emperor's service, and was for some time a news-writer. He wrote good prose and compiled a *dīvān*. He also wrote a *masnavī*, a *shahr-āshūb*.

Although through my enlightenment of soul I am as conspicuous as the sun,
Still I know not how to light the lamp of my own lot."

XIV. Abtarī of Badak̲h̲shān.

His assumed name accords well with his nature.[1] He has committed to memory, parrot-like, some phrases from the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣu-l-Ḥikam*,[2] and has striven hard, in a polemical treatise, to establish the good faith of Pharaoh,[3] for which reason he has been nicknamed "Pharaoh's Advocate." The following is the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by him:—

"Thou saidest, 'Shall I deal with my lovers faithfully or cruelly?'
O, impudent one, know that we choose the former!"

XV. Ulfatī, Qilīj Kh̲ān.[4]

He is of the Jān Qurbānī tribe.[5] He is accomplished in learning and the sciences, and is one of the commanders of five thou-

[1] *Abtar* means 'worthless.'

[2] See p. 17, note 3, for an account of the *Fuṣūṣu-l-Ḥikam*. There are several works having the word *Futūḥ* or *Futūḥāt* as part of their titles, and I cannot say to which of them Badāonī here refers.

[3] Probably referring to the passage in Chapter X of the *Qur'ān*, in which Pharaoh is said to have said, when drowning in the Red Sea, 'I believe that there is no God but He on whom the children of Israel believe; and I am one of the resigned.'

[4] Qilīj Kh̲ān was a pious man, and a staunch *Sunnī*. He is first mentioned in connection with the siege of Ruhtās in Bihār, in 1565. In 1573 he was appointed commandant of Sūrat, which Akbar had just conquered, with his son as his deputy. In 1576-77 he was sent to Sūrat to negotiate with the Portuguese. In 1588 he received Sambhal in *jāyīr*. In 1593-94 he was made Governor of Kābul, where he was not successful. He was removed, and in 1596-97 accompanied his son-in-law, Sulṭān Dāniyāl, to the Dakan, as *atālīq*, but soon returned to court. During Akbar's absence in Kh̲āndesh in 1598-99 he was Governor of Agra, in 1600-01 he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. At the accession of Jahāngīr he was sent to Gujarāt, but returned the next year to the Panjāb. He died in 1613. Before he was tutor to Sulṭān Daniyāl he was a commander of 1000 but he was then promoted to the command of 4500. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 34, 354, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 123, and *Ṭabaqat-i-Akbarī*.

[5] The MSS. have *Jānī Qurbānī*. The readings are not satisfactory. I have

sand. His faith is orthodox. For some time he held the title of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk*,[1] and is now Governor of the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. He has poetical genius and facility in writing verse. The following few couplets are by him: —

"No sooner had my sun cast the veil from off her face
Than the sun appeared no more than a mote in a sunbeam in motion.
I am slain by that languid narcissus-like eye, which, in its heaviness,
Has slain a whole world and composed itself to sleep."

"Thy two dark languid eyes[2] play havoc with my wit and my faith,
189 With drawn bows they lie in wait for me in every corner."

"It is not the rosebud-like arrow of my slayer that rankles in my heart,
But my own blood which, while apart from her lips, I have swallowed, that is clotted in my heart."

XVI. Ulfati of Yazd.

He was well skilled in the exact sciences. He was a companion of the Khān-i-Zamān, and was captured in his rebellion.[3] The emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him. The following opening couplets of *qaṣīdahs* are his:—

"Until like dust I settled on the skirts of the robe of my beloved,
I had no rest from my wanderings nor ease at my heart."

not been able to discover a tribe with any such name. Perhaps, Badāoni means to say that he was of those who would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the emperor.

[1] Qilīj Khān was twice *dīvān*.

[2] Literally 'Turks,' a favourite simile.

[3] In 1567, see vol. ii, text, 100.

"We are but a handful of ashes, but we carry fire in us,
It would be no wonder if we were consumed by the sparks of our own sighs."

The Khān-i-Zamān gave him a thousand rupees as a reward for composing this latter couplet.

XVII. Ulfati of 'Irāq.

He was for some time in Kashmīr with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān,[1] and there he composed a poem on the people of the city in which he dwelt.[2] The following couplet occurs in it:—

"Sarmadī[3] is the squirrel of the tree of the poets,
He loves the stature of Orion and the feelers of the Crab."

On a youth who was beloved by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān he wrote the following couplet:—

"Mīrzā Yūsuf, the prince of the age, is in love.
He loves thy pure love, but he loves the beauty of others."

XVIII. Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān.[4] 190

He was one of the offspring of Mīrzā Jahān Shāh. In wisdom, generosity, sincerity, goodness of disposition, submissiveness, and humility he surpassed all. In early life he was in the service of the emperor Bābar, and in middle age he obtained advancement in the service of emperor Humāyūn, and received the honourable title of Khān-i-Khānān, and his present Majesty added *Bābā-am*[5] to his titles. He was a great friend to religious, was subject to fits of religious ecstasy, and was a benevolent man. The second

[1] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 345, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān was appointed to Kashmir in 1587, but resigned four years later. He was subsequently reinstated at the request of Sulṭān Salīm.

[2] شهر آشوب literally 'city disturbing.' A poem in praise or disparagement of the people of a city.

[3] *Vide infra* No. lxii.

[4] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 315, and Badāonī, vol. ii, text, *passim*. Badāoni had a great admiration for Bairam Khān, although he was a *Shī'ah*.

[5] 'My father.'

conquest of Hindūstān,[1] and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous efforts, his valour, and his wise policy. Learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy in the possession of gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself, and his high court, lofty as the sky, was the resort of the lords of learning and all perfect qualities. His existence was, indeed, an honour to the age in which he lived. At last vile hypocrites poisoned the mind of His Majesty against him, until his affairs fell at length into the condition of which a brief description has been given in the chronicle of the reign.[2] He has composed a *dīvān* in Persian and Turkī which is in every hand, as his verses are on every tongue. This quatrain is his:—

"The masters of self-effacement are both high and low,
It is they who are ever drunken with draughts from the cup of immortality.
Whatever there may be in the plane of non-existence,
Know for certain that it is they alone who truly exist."

"Oh! Thou whose street is the *Ka'bah*[3] of our happiness,
191 Whose Face is the point towards which we turn in prayer!
Blest will be the time when thou graciously drawest us to Thyself,
Freeing us from the bonds of ceremonialism and conventionality!"

He wrote an ode in praise of his holiness 'Ali, the commander of the faithful (may God be gracious unto his countenance!) of which the following are the opening couplets:—

"Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the nine heavens,
If he be not the slave of 'Alī let dust be cast upon his head.
Hope not for love for the king of men from one who knows not his own father,
Cujus matris ignominiam discooperiut alienus."

[1] *i.e.*, on Humāyūn's return from Persia. Bābar's was the 'first' conquest.
[2] Vol. ii.
[3] The temple of Makkah; here used by a trope for any object of desire.

The following is the commencement of a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote on the astrolabe:—

"What globe is this whose axis rests on the centre (of the universe),
This full moon across whose midst the meteors dart?
Though it vaunts itself the equal of both sun and moon
It gladly enrolls itself among the emperor's slaves.
The sun's resplendent orb looms not so largely in our eyes
As the crescents which surmount the banners of the world-famed king of kings—
Both sky and earth are ever subject to his authority,
Like the seal of a ring on the hand of a monarch as powerful as Jamshīd.
This globe brings with it a golden tray full of *ashrafīs*
To scatter before the feet of great kings,
The feet of the emperor of exalted dignity, Humāyūn, 19
before whom, in order to obtain honour,
The sky itself places the head of humility on the threshold of the Court."

They relate that the emperor Humāyūn was one night in conversation with Bairam Khān, who was overcome by drowsiness. His Majesty reprovingly said, "Ha, Bairam Khān! It is to you that I am speaking." He replied, "Yes, sire, I am attentive, but since I have heard that in the service of kings a watch should be kept over the eyes, and among *darvīshes* a watch should be kept over the heart, and among learned men a watch should be kept over the tongue. I was just pondering over which I should keep a watch, for Your Majesty is a King, a *darvish*, and a learned man." His late Majesty was much pleased with this seemly reply, and expressed his approval of it.

Bairam Khān obtained the blessing of martyrdom[1] at Paṭṭan in Gujarāt in the year H. 968 (A.D. 1561) and his bones were, in accordance with his will, taken to Mashhad.

[1] He was murdered by Mubārak Khān, an Afghān: see vol. ii, text, 45 He is accounted a martyr, because he was on his way to Makkah when he was killed.

XIX. Bīkasī of Ghaznīn.

He was known for his varied attainments and numerous accomplishments. He had performed the pilgimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madīnah, and afterwards came to India. In Arabia he had studied some of the books of traditions such as the *Mishkāt*,[1] and the *Shamā'ilu-n-Nabī*[2] (may God bless and preserve the prophet!) under Mīr Murtaẓā-yi-Sharīfī[3] and others. Being overcome by the weakness of old age he set out for his beloved native land, his original home, and while halting at Peshāwar on his way thither he heard the cry, "Return to Me!" from the lips of the Angel of Death, and in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) he withdrew to the Presence of the Merciful God.

The following verses are some of the relics of his copious imagination.

193 "Whether in the idol-temple or in the *Ka'bah* I have looked to none but Thee,
Wherever I have been I have never been forgetful of Thee."

"It is not in our age alone that the sky (fate) has been pitiless,
Since its revolutions first began it has been both pitiless and faithless."

"Though *Bīkasī* should hear the reproaches of his enemies a hundred times,
It were fitting that he should not allow them to vex or disturb him,
For the following perfect couplet is well known throughout the world:
And why, indeed, should not such a couplet have world-wide fame?

[1] The *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 58, note 3, *et passim*.

[2] Apparently the same as the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadīyyah*. See vol. i, 625, note 6.

[3] See below, No. cxxii.

Though the worthless stone crush the golden vase
The worth of the stone is not increased nor is that of the gold diminished.'"

Quatrain.

"Oh heart, give not the rein to thine anguish and grief!
Forgo not one moment of true delight for all the dominion of Jamshid;
Should a loved one fall to thy lot, see well
That thou exchange not the dust of her footsteps for all that both worlds can give."

Maulānā *Bīkasī* writes that one day the late emperor Humayūn wrote in his own graceful handwriting over the arch of the porch of his palace in the royal residence of Dihlī the following couplet by Shaikh *Āzarī*:—

"I have heard that on this gilded dome
Is written 'At last the actions of all become praiseworthy.'"

The emperor was fated shortly afterwards to leave this narrow dwelling of deception for the sweet abode of bliss,[1] and owing 194
to the exigencies of the time that very palace was utilized as his tomb, and since this action of that enlightened king was attributed to miraculous prevision the chronogram for that event, contained in the following verses, was widely quoted at the time:—

"When the Emperor Humāyūn shortly before he died
Wrote on the door of the dwelling in which he lived,
'It is written that at the last the actions of all become praiseworthy,'
He referred prophetically to his own righteous end:
And when that dwelling by the decree of fate became his tomb
It became the point towards which all turn in prayer, and the *Ka'bah* of their desires.

[1] On Rabī'u-l-awwal 15, A.H. 963 (Jan. 28, 1556). See vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 600–602. Firishta places his death four days earlier, but Badāonī is the better authority.

For this reason I give the following chronogram for his death,

'The foundation of the dwelling [1] of the Sulṭān whose end was praiseworthy.'"

XX. Bāqī of Kolāb.[2]

He had a natural talent for poetry. The following verses are his:—

"In thine absence I am the slave of a hundred griefs,
Do thou rejoice since I am overwhelmed with anguish."

"Although the fair to-day do not know my worth,
They will know it to-morrow when I shall be no more."

"My eyes are suffused sometimes with my heart's blood, sometimes with blood from my liver,
To me, the wretched one far from her face, even the way of sight is closed."

"He never becomes liberal like the cypress in the garden of the world,
Who, like the narcissus, fixes his eyes always in covetousness on silver and gold." 195

Bāqī was a long time in Hindūstān and was killed during the rebellion of Ma'ṣūm the Kābulī.[3]

XXI. Bayāẓī.

He lived in Agra after the fashion of humble men and the style of bygone days. This opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* is his:—

[1] ناي منزل سلطان ماتبت محمود. The chronogram is not quite clear. As it stands it gives the total 1002. If we remove م which is the first letter of منزل, and therefore 'the foundation of the dwelling' which is, perhaps, what the poet intended, we get 962—one year short.

[2] Kolāb (now more correctly *Kūlāb*) is the name of a town and district in Badakhshān. [3] At Jaunpūr in 1579. See vol. ii, text, p. 276.

"Whoever enjoys the fruits of union with that jasmine-bodied cypress
Owes it to his good fortune. It is his good fortune that enjoys the fruit."

On the discussion raised by Kāhī and Ghazālī [1] he wrote the following quatrain:—

"*Kāhī* and *Ghazālī*, those two drunken fools,
Have put hand to pen to belittle *Jāmī* [2] and *Navā'ī*.[3]
There has been nobody like them in the world,
For *Kāhī* [4] is nought but straw and *Ghazālī* [5] is nought but a dog."

XXII. Pairavī.[6]

He is for the most part an imitator [7] of Khwāja Āṣafī. He is a skilful painter and has attained by means of studying the outward form to hidden truths, and has written on outward form and hidden essence a poetical treatise which begins as follows:—

"O Lord, I am unable to grasp hidden truth!
Forgive me, for I am too much a worshipper of the outward form
Of thy grace, O most Pure God!
Thou hast so fashioned the outward form of our earthly tabernacles
That every (fair) form which I see
Points out to me the way to the hidden truths of Thine Essence." 196

[1] See above, Nos. II and I.

[2] The great Persian poet, Mullā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-i-Jāmī.

[3] See below, No. CLVI.

[4] Kāhī signifies 'strawy.'

[5] *Ghazāl* signifies a 'gazelle' or 'antelope,' and *ghazālī*, the adjective derived from it, might be applied to a hound used for hunting that animal.

[6] He is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 600) 'Pairavi of Sāwa.' His name is Amīr Beg. He was a good painter.'

[7] This is a pun on his *takhalluṣ*. پیرو (*pairav*) means 'a follower,' 'an imitator.'

Other Verses.

"When is the wine of love given to him who suffers no pain?
Love for the beautiful is a state of exhilaration. To whose lot does it fall?"

"In my dream I saw her sitting with the jealous watcher, and my heart was perturbed.
Had I at that moment awoken from my dream I should have died, but died too late."

"When I cast a glance at her moonlike face, even while I am looking,
She glowers at me angrily, to bid me not to gaze at her."

"I steal a glance at that graceful one,
And when she looks towards me, I look downwards to the ground in shame."

"The child of my tears took his way in the road of my beloved,
Like a sweet orphan he put his foot forward in this path;
But the delicate child was unable to endure love's tyranny,
And called my beloved cruel and faithless."

"I am perturbed when she is away from me,
Lest my moon-faced darling should fall in love with another."

Pairavī wrote a complete *dīvān* of *ghazals*. He died in Hindūstān.

XXIII. Baqā'ī.[1]

On first leaving his native land he went to the Dakan, where he was with Malik *Qumī*, the poet. Thence he went to Gujarāt and was there with Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad,[2] adopting the *nom-de-plume* of *Mashgūlī*. The Mīrzā changed it, giving him his present *nom-de-plume*. His poetry is good, and since it is easy and flowing I quote the following excerpts:— 197

"When love made the eyelashes of the fair ones a lancet,
It caused the blood to flow from my arteries and veins,
Alas, that before I could close my eyes the arrow of thought of the loved one
Penetrated my eye and thence pierced my heart."

"In place of tears my wounded heart itself drops piecemeal from my eyes,
From this fiery cloud all the blood of my liver rains down."

"So long as the bird of my heart was the prey of that hunter,
Each separate hair of my head rose up as a bird rising to flight."

Baqā'ī has now left the service of the Khān-i-Khānān,[3] and they say that he has come to Āgra and intends to go to Lāhōr.

XXIV. Mullā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Tārkhān.[4]

He was called Safīdonī, and assumed the name of *Nūrī* as his *nom-de-plume*. Since he held the *pargana* of Safīdon in the

[1] Baqā'ī was evidently alive when Badāonī completed this history in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596). He must not, therefore, be confounded with the Baqā'ī mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* and below, under Ḥālatī (Yādgār), No. XLII, who was executed for murdering his father.

[2] Author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[3] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm.

[4] See No. LXIX, chapter II.

sarkar of Sirhind [1] as a *jāgīr* for some years, he was spoken of as though he had been a native of that place. He was distinguished for his attainments in geometry, the exact sciences, and astrology, and was one of the intimate companions of the late emperor, obtaining the title of Tarkhān in the course of his confidential association with him. He was unequalled in liberality, generosity, munificence and conviviality, for which qualities he was proverbial. He had poetic talent too, and composed a *dīvān* One day on the polo-ground at Fatḥpūr he was injured by an elephant, and was in great pain. While in this condition he continued to repeat, "Be my witnesses, all of you, that in my present uneasiness I repent of some of my former acts and am resolved to amend my ways." However much he was pressed on the subject he would not say what those particular acts were of which he repented. I said, "The first thing of which you will have repented will surely be the writing of poetry." I do not know whether he was pleased with my suggestion, or annoyed, but the others who were present were much pleased. In the days of his authority he dug a canal from the Jamna, fifty *kurūh* in length, in the direction of Karnāl, and beyond that town. This was the cause of large additions to the cultivated area, and a great increase in the prosperity of the people. As it was dug in the name of the prince Sulṭān Salīm, it was called *Shaikhūnai*,[2] which word gives a chronogram for the date of its completion. *Nai* in Hindī means "a stream." At length cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him so that he endured many hardships and privations. When His Majesty in A.H. 994 (A.D. 1586) departed for Āṭak he appointed Mullā Nūru-d-dīn to

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[1] No *pargana* of this name is mentioned in the account of the *sarkār* of Sirhind on pp. 295, 296 of vol. ii of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. Safīdon is now a town in the Jīnd State and *taḥṣīl* in the Panjāb. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 349.

[2] The text and the MSS. have *Shaikhānai*, which is wrong, for the numerical values of its letters give the total 967, ten years before the birth of Salīm (Jahāngīr), who was born in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569); we must, therefore, read Shaikhūnai, which not only gives the correct date, but also contains the name of Salīm, whose father called him by the pet name of Shaikhū, deeming him to have been granted to the prayers of Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī,

the trusteeship of the tomb of the late Emperor in the imperial city of Dihlī, and there the *Mullā* died. The following verses are excerpts from his poems:—

"Sad at heart am I sitting, far from those smiling lips,
Like the rose-bud am I sitting, with my head cast down to my collar."

"In his kindness and generosity
The most just King conferred on *Tarkhān*[1] the title *Khān*.
Of this *Khān*-ate he possesses the name alone.
From this name, however full of dignity, what does he gain?
Nay more, he makes this complaint of the *tarkhān*-ate also
Before the king's perfect wisdom,
That besides the "khān" nothing but desert lands seems to remain to him,
While with his *tarkhān*-ate moisture[2] seems to disappear from them altogether."

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The Khān, when the Emperor was marching against Hakīm Mīrzā in A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), remained behind and returned from the Panjāb to his own *jāgīr*, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him, so that after the Emperor's return from this expedition he was summoned to Fatḥpūr, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be reprimanded, and deprived of his title. In this manner, he was persecuted for some years. Those who are qualified to dis-

[1] Tarkhān was a Mughal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (*vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 364). From these verses it would appear that Nūru-d-dīn claimed to be a Tarkhān by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of Khān and then that of Tarkhān, the latter, however, merely as an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was evidently the case with his earlier title of Khan

[2] This is a clever poem. تر (*tar*) means 'moist.' The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of Khān, but that when he was made *tar*-Khān what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate.

criminate attribute his ruin to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Dihlī, wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tātār Khān.[1] The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qāsim-i-*Kāhī*, publishing it as the work of that poet. The grounds upon which his satire was based will be best defined by quoting from the effusion.

"Mīyān Jamāl Khān[2] is the *muftī* of Dihlī,
But he never yet delivered one of his foolish judgments *gratis*;[3]
He is the Governor of the city under Tātār Khān,
And has just such another little donkey's face as his master's.
Shaikh Ḥasan the little decree-writer with his poisoned pen
Spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.
At the very time of prayer he performs, in a perfunctory manner, his ceremonial ablutions
When the reader has already ascended the pulpit,
It is he, it is he, it is he that oppresses the city,
A vain babbler, with his harlots"[4]

The opening couplet of that effusion, which even to quote is scurrility, is as follows:

"Alas, for Dihlī and its holy shrines,
Alas, for the ruin of its palaces!"

This satire extends to nearly two hundred and fifty couplets. One of the learned men of that city, Shaikh Muḥammad Kambū[5],

[1] Kh'āja Ṭāhir Muḥammad, a Khurāsānī. He was a commander of a thousand. He was made Governor of Dihlī in 1563-64, and died there in 1578.

[2] See Chapter II, No. VI.

[3] This is another pun. The word for *gratis* is مفت (*muft*)

[4] The second hemistichs of all these couplets, and the first hemistich of one of them, end in words to which absurd terminations, imitating the Arabic possessive pronouns, have been appended. The same remark applies to the opening couplet which follows.

[5] A fellow clansman of the *muftī* who had been satirized,

by name, wrote an answer to the whole of it in the following two[1] couplets:—

"Nūru-d-dīn is such a blockhead
That it must have been in folly that his father begat the fool. 200
The babbling dolt has been struck on the head with a mallet,
There is no (need to) answer his foolish chatter."

Praise be to God! These verses are equal to[2] that world-famed fragment of the lord Maulavī Nūru-d dīn 'Abdu-l-Raḥmān-i-*Jāmī* (may his tomb be hallowed!), the opening verses of which are given below:—

"Alas for the Love of God, and its ecstasy,
It has consumed my heart with its scorching heat!
Mine eye never glanced towards aught but God.
My lot is cast with God and with His revelations!"

The worthy Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn fancied himself a second *Jāmī*, both as a story-teller and as a stylist. But how can there be any comparison between the two?

"If in your actions you resemble not the virtuous, of what use is it to resemble them in name?

"One who bore the title of Masīḥ restored sight to him who was blind from his mother's womb, but another Masīḥ had himself but one eye."

It is to be hoped, however, that as he was not without natural goodness of disposition, he repented of his evil deeds, and that God in His gracious mercy allowed his tribulation and suffering in this world to be an expiation of his sins. May God forgive him, When the *Maulānā*, after being put down from his high place, came to Agra, I was walking in the public market one day, and met him. One of my friends, the genial and witty Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain of Shīrāz,[3] who was one of the leading men in Āgra, said to him, "Well, my lord Nawwāb, you have written something regarding the officials in Dihlī, and now why should you not

[1] The text and the MSS. have '*One* couplet,' though two are given.

[2] Badāonī seems to mean that their form was copied from Jāmī's *qit'ah*.

[3] See Chapter II. No. XLII.

bestow the same favour on the officials in Agra, who expect it of you!" I said, "Evidently he has seen nothing in the leading men of Agra which renders them worthy of this honour." Miyān Kamālu-u-dīn laughed and said, "This is a false charge which you have brought against us."

XXV. Tardi, *Rūda*.

He is a native of Transoxiana and is a witty man. He was with Mīrzāyān Ulugh Mīrzā[1] at the time when the Mīrzās captured the fort of Bahroc, and wrote the following quatrain on the event:—

201 "The Timurides are unequalled in valour,
Victory smiles on them whithersoever they turn,
When they took Bahroc by storm
This chronogram was found for the event, 'They captured Bahroc.'"[2]

XXVI. Tausanī.

His name is Manohar and he is the son of Lon Karan, Rājā of Sāmbhar,[3] a famous salt tract. It may be that the "Attic salt" of his verses is the effect of his native land. He possesses wonderful personal beauty and extraordinary intellectual power. He was called at first "Muḥammad Manohar," and afterwards received the title of Mīrzā Manohar. His father, in spite of his infidelity, used, by way of honouring and distinguishing him, to glory in calling him Muḥammad Manohar. Although he was not acceptable to the emperor he has poetic genius. These verses are his:—

"The Shaikh is boastful of his religion, the Brahman brags of his idolatry:
He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has naught to do with idolatry or religion."

1 Akbar's distant cousin. He is distinguished by the honorific plural Mirzāyān, probably because he was the head of the House of Tīmūr.

2 The chronogram (كردند بهروج فتح) gives the date A.H. 980 = A.D. 72-73.

3 Sāmbhar, a famous salt lake in Rājputāna, in the borders of the Jodhpūr and Jaipūr States, lying between 26° 53′ and 27° 1′ N. and 74° 54′ E.

Quatrain.

"Without the love of Thee the liver is filled to the brim with fire,
Without the pain of longing for Thee the thorn is sunk deep in my brain;
The idol-temple and the *Ka'bah*[1] alike mean naught to me but infidelity.
My concern is only with the One-ness of God."

When they gave him his *takhallus* (poetical name) he recited these few couplets:—

"O thou who sippest *sharbat*, visit the assembly of us who drink the lees!
For our livers supply us with roast-meat, and the wine-cup is filled with our heart's blood.
It is shameful for men to make mention of soul or heart in 202
the case of love,
But our hearts are like congealed blood and our souls are like the bitter blast.
Tausanī,[2] give rein to the steed of desire in the field of love.
Thou shalt safely attain thy desire with Akbar for thy guide."

Since a Hindū[3] had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feeling[4] I have recorded these verses.

XXVII. Tazarvī of Abhar.

He was sister's son to Maulānā Nargisī, and, in accordance with the saying, "the true son resembles his maternal uncle," he was distinguished by his wit and the strength of his intellect. He

1 The temple of Makkah.

2 *Tausan* signifies a fiery steed. The appositeness of the metaphor in this verse is apparent.

3 The author's bigotry would not allow him to regard a Hindū who displayed poetic or religious fervour otherwise than as a freak of nature.

4 حالت. Both MSS. have صالت which is meaningless. The reading in the text is undoubtedly correct.

came from Turkey to India in the days of Bairam Khān's supremacy, and profited much by his generosity. He was captured in the battle fought beneath the mountains[1] by Ataga Khān, and was by him paraded before the emperor, as the chief of his gifts, with the banner of the eighth *Imām*, 'Alī-ur-Riẓā[2] (may God accept him). He was very favourably received by the emperor. He composed his treatise on *Beauty and Yūsuf* for Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,[3] the son of Ataga Khān. The opening couplet of the poem is as follows:—

"In the name of Him to whom the face of foe and friend
Is turned, in which direction soever He may be."

He composed some verses descriptive of the members of the beloved, among which are the following couplets:—

"Her face is a mirror, her neck is a shaft of ivory,
Those who are in face like the fairies desire that mirror;
The palm of her hand is, like the sun, a mirror of light,
The fingers of that houri are the rays of the sun
To the eye of understanding the parting of the hair of that sweet-lipped maid
Is a meteor resplendent in the heart of the night.[4]
Nay, I erred in describing it as a meteor,
Rather is it a stream of fair water traversing a garden of hyacinths.

[1] This was the battle fought in A.D. 1560 in the Jālandhar Dūāb between the imperial troops under the command of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, and Bairām Khān, in which the latter was defeated. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 40.

[2] Bairām Khān, a Shī'ah, displayed the banners of the Imāms of the Shī'ahs before his troops.

[3] Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of Ataga Khān (Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad), was the foster-brother of Akbar. He was only twelve years of age when he distinguished himself in this battle against Bairām Khān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, p. 323. He died of excessive drinking in A.D. 1566, at the age of eighteen. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84.

[4] In this simile the poet compares the white parting with a meteor and the hair with the blackness of night, and in the simile in the following couplet he compares the former with a sparkling stream and the latter with a garden of dark hyacinths.

Desire fails[1] in its hope of reaching her navel, 203
Remaining for ever in the pit of despair.
Desire ever hovers round about her,
Like the thirsty quarry round about the well.
Above her nose is the palm-tree of our desire.
Her arched eyebrows stained with dye:
There grow, in spite of nature's rule,
Two lily petals from a wild rose sprig.
In the eye of that light of my eyes
There appears, as it were, a drop of dew on a rose
Circumdant pudendum margaritae illius intemeratae,
Lunae velut crescentes duae.
In grace she excels the lily bud,
Tongue placed in palate and lip on lip."

He has written in reply to the *Dihnāma* of 'Imād a *maṣnavī* in which the following couplets occur:—

"From regret for thy moist[2] ruby lip
And from separation from thy curled looks
His (the lover's) weak body has dwindled to a hair,
In his body there remains no place for his soul.
From vexation and grief his heart is melted to blood,
He drinks his own blood and draws no breath."

In a description of the morning he has written:—

"The ashes of the morning have gone on the breeze,
Fire has caught the cotton of the morning."[3]

Couplets.

"When my head droops on my knees in separation from that faithless one,

[1] The words are بریدهٔ امید "hope is severed," and there is a reference, which cannot be well reproduced in translation, to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

[2] Or "resplendent," "of fine water." The epithet is applicable alike to a jewel or to a moist lip.

[3] That is to say, the cool whiteness of the morning has been dispersed by the fierce rays of the sun.

My body is reduced to a heap of ashes by my burning heart."

"When her cruel sword is raised like a banner to slay me,
I make my complaint of her cruelty, my excuse for falling at her feet;
For her sake I cheerfully endured the cruelty of the world, not knowing
How little trust could be placed in her tenderness and faith."

"In truth the quiltings of the patched woollen robe of poverty
Bind upon the hands and feet of avarice the chains of contentment."

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204 "Love's mendicant laughs at the ermine of royalty,
As he comes forth from love's furnace smeared with ashes."

"The dust of existence has gone on the breeze, but still from moisture of tears
The feet of Thy humble lovers remain in the mire."

"The sword of thine eyelashes came as a boon to me when I was beside myself,
When I came to myself I had a hundred wounds on my soul."

By the emperor's order he wrote the following verses, descriptive of an elephant:—

"From the dust of the road of the emperor whose throne is the sky,
He scatters ambergris on himself by way of perfume.
The constellation of the Eagle appears on his head, without exaggeration,
Like a midge on the summit of the mountains of Caucasus:
When his body is encircled with its golden chain
The milky way and the heavens come into view.

When he is distressed by the heat of the sun
He pours water over himself like a fountain.
Damsels of fairy form and moon-like countenance
Sit, by the emperor's command, on the throne which he bears.
They sit there ever in their entrancing beauty
For verily the mountains of Caucasus are a meet resting-place for fairies."

One night in the year H. 975[1] robbers put him to death with cruel sword, and he was buried in the building which he had erected for himself in Agra.

XXVIII. Tashbihi[2] of Kashan.[3]

He came two or three times to India and left the country again, and now in these days he has returned and attempts to seduce men to heresy, and invites them to join the sect of the Basākhwānīs.[4] He has persuaded Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl that he is an 205

1 A.D. 1567-68.

2 Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, pp. 596—598.

3 A city of 'Irāq-i-Ajam.

4 The followers of Maḥmūd of Basākhwān, a village in Gīlān. The sect was also styled Maḥmūdiyyah, Wāḥidiyyah, Nuqṭawiyyah, or Umanā. Maḥmūd styled himself *Shakhs-i-Wāhid*, or "the individual," and professed to be the Imām Mahdī, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of the world. He lived in A.H. 800 (A.D. 1397-98) in the days of the Amīr Taimūr, and had many followers in Persia, but the sect was there extinguished by Shāh 'Abbās I.

Mahmūd pressed into his service a verse of the *Qur'ān*, Sur. xvii, 81.

عَسَىٰ أَن يَبْعَثَكَ رَبُّكَ مَقَامًا مَّحْمُودًا

'Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station.'

He maintained that the human body had, since its creation, been advancing in purity, and that, on its reaching a higher degree of perfection, 'Maḥmūd' would arise, as indicated in the passage from the *Qur'ān*, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muḥammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the *nuqṭah-i-khāk*, or 'earth atom' from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term *nuqṭah-i-khāk* gave rise to the

infallible spiritual guide and by his means has been enabled to present to the *Khalīfah* of the age an ode, the object of which was to ask the emperor why he did not devote himself to the overthrowing of the self-styled orthodox, so that truth might be confirmed in its central position and pure monotheism might be established. He also dedicated to Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl a treatise after manner of the Nuqṭawī sect, and their manner[1] of writing the letters, all of which is hypocrisy and dissimulation[2] and comparison of the numbers of the letters, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk discovered that the sum of the letters in the word *Tashbīhī* was the same as in the word *Tazrīqī*,[3] "the hypocrite"; and the rest of his revelations may be estimated in the same manner. Tashbīhī wrote a *dīvān*, and the following few verses are among his ravings:—

"For once, O dust of the graveyard, plume thyself on thy fertility,
For thou bearest in the tomb a corpse like me killed by that hand and dagger."

"Wear those garments of whatever colour pleaseth thee,
For I recognize the majesty of that graceful form."

"The two hands of this world and of that world are naught,
The ring is in thy hand,[4] both the ring and the hand are naught."

name *Nuqṭawī*. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, pp. 177, 452, 453 and Badāonī, text, vol. ii, pp. 245—248.

[1] That is to say singly, and not in words, as afterwards appears.

[2] تزریق a word coined by Badāonī, who forms an Arabic verbal noun from the Persian word زرق. He also uses this word in vol. ii, p. 247.

[3] The numerical values of the letters in the two words are—

400 + 300 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 10 = 727; and
400 + 7 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 10 = 727.

[4] Possibly a reference to the game of *kaca-bāzī*, in which one player has to guess in which of the other's hands a ring is hidden.

At the time when I was writing this hasty compilation he gave into my hand, in the presence of Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl, a treatise on Maḥmūd of Basākhwān, the preface of which was as follows:—

"O God! who art praiseworthy (*Maḥmūd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee for help, on Thee of whom it is said, 'There is no God but He.' Praise be to God whose mercies are visible in all His works, who has shown the existence of all His works. From Him are their * *.[1] He knows Himself, but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. *Question*:—What is that which is 206
called 'Nature'? *Answer*:—"That which is called 'Nature' is God."

Dirt in his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The point of all this lying is 'the four *nuqṭahs*.' At the end of the treatise I saw, in his own writing, "This has been frequently written with reference to the Persian, the infallible religious guide, Ṭ, b, ā, r, 'a, lī, a, k, r, b, lt, ash, b, ī, h, ī, *Anavī*, *Ukhravī*, *Sāḥib Maqām* (the representative).[2] And the rest was after the same fashion. We flee to God for refuge from such unbelief!

XXIX. Taqī-ud-dīnī[3] of Shūshtar.

He has recently entered the imperial service and is well versed both in those sciences which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and in traditional knowledge. He is well acquainted with poetry and has poetic genius. The following couplets are his:—

[1] One word is unintelligible in the text. The word is given as ... with a variant ...

[2] The text seems to be corrupt. I have transliterated the letters and words appearing in the text and in MSS. (A) and (B). Mr. Blochmann (trans. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 547 n.) makes the letters read "Mir 'Alī Akbar Tashbīhī, the Amīnī, the last, the representative," and his reading appears to be a good one, though it is not that of the text.

[3] Otherwise known as Mullā Taqiyā. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is styled Taqī Muḥammad. He is represented as a disciple of Akbar's "Divine Faith." *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* trans. Blochmann, i. 518.

"If I be not enabled to steal a glance at Thy face,
I can at least fill my mouth with sweetness by thinking on Thy lip:
If Thou hast planted me like a herb on the earth,
Where shall I find the hand and the heart that will enable me to end my earthly pilgrimage?"

He is at present employed, by the emperor's command, in turning the *Shāhnāma* into prose, or in other words in converting fine linen into sackcloth, or in unravelling a rope to make oakum.

XXX. Ṣānī Khān[1] of Herāt.

He is one of the *amīrs* who have been long in the imperial service, and is well known for his ability, scientific knowledge, and wit. If anybody were praised to him for his learning and accomplishments he would at once say to him, "My love and friendship are conditional on this, that you pay no heed to what the base and vulgar say of me, for such people are a hindrance to
207 friendship and a cause of strife." His verses are, as it were, disconnected fragments of chaff, but he has nevertheless completed a *dīvān*.

"O thou whose practice is to vex me, and whose rule of conduct is injustice!
I cry out against this injustice and against this rule."

Pass by this bitterness, for in this tardy world no one who ill-treats the poor prospers."

"A rival is on the road to salute thee,
O God! Grant that he leave not the road with his life."

[1] He was born at Herāt and belonged to the Arlāt clan. According to the *Akbarnāma* (i. 379) Maulānā Sānī, 'who is now called Ṣānī Khān,' was in the service of Mīrzā Hindāl; but after the Mirzā's death (Nov. 20, 1551) he was received by Humāyūn into his service. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān. Vide *Ain-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i. 476. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* Sānī Khān was a low fellow who was originally a *qalandar* and eventually rose to be an *amīr*.

Quatrain.

"I have suffered from separation as even Jacob[1] never suffered,
I have suffered for love what even Majnūn never suffered,
This calamity which thine absence has brought upon me
Was never dreamt of by Farhād nor heard of by Vāmiq."

His name is 'Alī Akbar and he has made the fact that he bears the same name as the emperor, an excuse for addressing to him treatises on heresy, in which, agreeably to the system of the *Nuqṭawīs*,[2] he sets forth both the emperor and himself as that promised person who was to appear, in accordance with the numerical values of the letters composing the word *shakhṣ*,[3] in the year H. 990,[4] and he quotes the words of Maḥmūd in support of this view:—the curse of God be upon them all! He has versified the *Kāfiyyah*[5] and a treatise on Ṣūfī-ism, in which occurs the following ridiculous couplet[6] which is made to scan merely by filling in vowels:—

احرنجم يحرنجم احرنجاما مصدر

He has apparently, at the latter end of his life, repented of poetry.

XXXI. Ṣanā'ī[7] of Mashhad.

His name is Khwāja Ḥusain. Before he came to India the 208
great men of his country used secretly to assemble at social

[1] *Scil.* in his separation from Joseph. Majnūn, Farhād and Vāmiq were famous lovers.

[2] See the note on page—.

[3] "A person." The numerical values of the letters are 300 + 600 + 90 = 990.

[4] A.D. 1582.

[5] *Al kāfiyyat fi-n-nahw* (*liber sufficiens*) by Shaikh Jamāl-ud-dīn Abī 'Umar 'Uthmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as Ibn-ul-Ḥājib. A famous work on Arabic Grammar, a full account of which, and its various commentaries, is given in Ḥājī Khalifah, 9707. The author died in A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248-49. *Vide* Badāonī, vol. i. trans. Ranking, pp. 428 and 465 and notes.

[6] *Sic*, but a hemistich only is quoted.

[7] Ṣanā'ī was the son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad. The

gatherings to consider and discuss even one couplet by him, and in each gathering his verses were read by way of good augury, and all agreed, both with tongue and pen, in his pre-eminence in poesy, and recorded their opinions. Since his arrival in India all his poetic fancy has been frozen by envy, and he is fallen into the corner of neglect and become the target for a hundred shafts of criticism, and wanders distracted in the way of the vulgar. His *dīvān* is well known and contains a good *maṣnavī*, although it is for the most part pointless, and its style is not comparable with that of his loftier odes. He has, however, a poetic nature, and in all subjects save unity, preaching, advice, and direction he has wonderful aptitude. I quote these few couplets as a memorial of him:—

"Such grace rains down from her from head to foot,
That one could sweep grace out of her bed."

The idea expressed in this couplet, however, very closely resembles that in the couplet of the master-poet:

"She causes blandishments to spring from the ground, she scatters grace in the air
By means of her graceful gait and her sweet foot on the earth."

"If, for example, thou sittest [1] behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face reversed." [2]

author of the *Ātashkada-i-Āẕar* says of his poems, "either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning." This criticism appears to be just. Ṣanā'ī, having offended Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī II by presenting to him an ode on his accession which contained no mention of his name, fled to India and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), Abū-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, Akbar's poet-laureate, and brother of Abū-l-Faẓl, was Ṣanā'ī's pupil. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* i. trans. Blochmann, p. 549, n. 6, and p. 563.

[1] جاكني MS. (A) has چاكني, a meaningless word which has apparently helped to puzzle the editor of the text.

[2] Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* trans. i. 564) says of this passage, 'This

'I shed so much grief abroad from my house
That the difficulties of my house are from without the door."

In describing an ambassador he says:—

"Like the sun in the sky thou hast traversed the world,
Like sleep thou art welcome to all eyes.
The sun, perchance, is but a distillation from thy hand,
Which washes the whole world with one drop of water,
Such blackness has overspread that tribe whose fate is dominated by Saturn that if, for example,
Each hair on their bodies became a candle,
The sight of man would not be able to distinguish their faces.[1]
The sound of their shoes would snatch Venus away from life,
Their hideous voices reach not the understanding,
Their gait is like fire, their speech is like war,
The sight of them is punishment and their voice is a brazen trumpet.
If a thought of them passes through the mind of the wet-nurse
The child from fear desists from sucking." [2]

"O thou! from the splendour of the fair candle of whose face the mirror is illumined,
From whose reflection the mirror seems to cherish a soul,
Place not the mirror before thee for the sake of seeing thyself,
Reflect rather on my condition and look not in the glass.
Fire has burst into flame in my heart, like its reflection in a mirror,

verse is unintelligible to me.' I have translated it as it stands, but it seems to have no meaning.

[1] The meaning of these verses is obscure.

[2] The author has, unfortunately, not said to whom these descriptive verses apply.

Since the sunlight of thy face has been reflected in every mirror.

210 If the burning blast of thy wrath should break into flame,
It will see its reflection in every mirror."

The Song of the Cupbearer.

"Come, my heart, to the wine-shop of the people of the Secret,
Drink of the cup of truth which melts outward semblance;
So free thyself from the outward form
That thou mayst, like the fairy, become invisible to vulgar eyes.
Perchance the desire of that guide shall seize thee
So that thou mayst obtain a place in the street of the wine-shops.
Bring me,[1] cupbearer, that candle which lies in privacy,
Which is hidden, like the hand of Moses,[2] in his sleeve:
Give it into my hand and thus make my hand resplendent
That in its light I may stretch forth my hand to perform miracles.
Come, O cupbearer, and for the sake of the drunken debauchees
Stretch forth thy hand to shed the blood of the bottle.
Look to the circulation of the bottle and reck[3] not of punishment.

[1] Literally 'come.' See the author's criticism below.

[2] The reference is to Exodus iv, 6, 7, and to the *Qur'ān Sūrah* xxvii 12.

وَ اَدْخِلْ يَدَكَ فِي جَيْبِكَ تَخْرُجْ بَيْضَاءَ مِنْ غَيْرِ سُوْءٍ فِي تِسْعِ آيَاتٍ إِلَى فِرْعَوْنَ وَ قَوْمِهِ

"Moreover, put thy hand into thy bosom; it shall come forth white without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people."

[3] The text and MS. (B) have مپرس, *i.e.* "inquire not," "have no anxiety for." MS. (A) has مترس, "fear not."

For in times of famine it becomes lawful to drink blood.
Give me, O cupbearer, that amber of existence
That by means of its attraction I may ascend
And may pitch my tent above this lowly place,
And, like ambition, may set my foot on whatever is!
Bring me, O cupbearer, that warm-blooded wine
Which increases love in my heart."

This "Song of the Cupbearer" clearly contains many vulgarisms, for everywhere he has used "come" in the sense of "bring," and he has reproduced the expressions used by masters of poetry on the same subject, forgetting that their expressions are used in brief fragments, of which the second couplet is dependent[1] on the first.

In his ode on the sun the following couplet occurs:—

"The sun's reflection makes manifest in water the properties of oil
When he makes of the dust of his worth a crown."[2]

He has written odes on sublime subjects, but in a mean style, and to him the proverb applies:—

"Their houses are lofty, their spirit is low,
O Lord! make these two things equal."[3]

XXXII. Judā'ī.[4]

211 He is Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, the painter, a versatile man, each page of whose paintings is a masterpiece, and who may be described

[1] موقوف. The word is in neither MS., but has been correctly supplied in the text.

[2] This is a literal translation of the couplet, to which the criticism in the *Ātashkada-i-Āzar* applies. The "crown of dust" is probably a reference to the sunbeam.

[3] i.e., "either bring down their houses or raise their spirit."

[4] Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabrīz, whose poetical name was Judā'ī, was more famous as a painter than as a poet. He is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 107), as the first of the court painters. Of him Abū-l-Faẓl says, "Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention first Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabrīz. He learned the art from his father. From

as a second Mānī [1] in India. The story of Amīr Ḥamzah in sixteen [2] volumes was illuminated and completed under his supervision. Each volume of it fills a box, and each page of it measures a yard wide by a yard long, and on each page is a picture.

He has completed a *dīvān*, in which the following verses occur:—

"As the morning broke the thorn boasted of its fellowship with the rose
And thus pierced with its nail the broken heart of the nightingale."

"The beauty of idols is the Ka'bah to which I journey; love is the desert by the way,
The railing of rivals [3] is the acacia thorn of that desert."

"From head to foot we are covered with swellings from the wounds of love for thee,

the time of his introduction at court the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art and has met with much success."

[1] Judā'ī's father was Mīr Manṣūr, and Judā'ī himself had the title of Nādir-ul-Mulk. Badāonī does not mention the accusation of theft which has been brought against the poet. He is said to have stolen the poems of Mīr Ashkī of Qum (*vide supra* no. XI). The number of his verses exceeded 10,000, and when on his death-bed he handed them over to Judā'ī to arrange. Judā'ī is said to have published in his own name whatever he thought good and to have thrown the remainder into water. Mullā Ṭarīqī of Sāva (*vide infra* no. LXXIX) has written an epigram on this subject:—

اشکي نا مـــرد را کشتـــي عقل حيران خون خفيهٔ اوست
بتو وا مانـــد چـــاره‌يـــوانش شعرا وا ماندهٔ تو کفتهٔ اوست

"Thou hast slain the disappointed Ashkī, my mind is lost in wonderment at the concealment of thy crime. With thee remained four *dīvāns* of his and what remains of thy poems is his." *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans., Blochmann, i, 598, n. 3.

[2] Twelve, according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. (Trans. Blochmann, i, 108).

[3] The *Ātashkada-ī-Āzarī* and Taqi's *Tazkirah* mention another Judā'ī, of Sāva.

We are the merchants of love and these wounds are our merchandise."

"I am a quarry half-slaughtered, fallen far from the street of the Friend,
I stumble along on my way striving to see the face of the Friend."

"I wished to describe my circumstances to that ill-natured one,
She is ever in company with others, what shall I say to her?

XXXIII. Jazbī.[1]

His name is Pādshāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī.[2] He has a poetic [3] turn of mind. The following verses are excerpts from his works:—

"Such sweetness has the Beauty which knows no beginning conferred on the lovely,
That love reaches a stage at which it gladly relinquishes life." 212

"See the extent of my jealousy. From love's madness I come to myself
If any one perceives that my speech is of the beloved."

"Thou art the unrestrained hunter and I am the (wounded) quarry
Which the hunter, from excess of cruelty, neglects to kill."

[1] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 480, 596.

[2] Abū-l-Faẓl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He was an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar's reign he served under Khiẓr Khān in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bairām. In the eleventh year he was sent to Gaṛha when Mahdī Qāsim Khān had, without permission, left that province for Makkah. In the *Ṭabaqat-i-Akbarī* he is described as a commander of 1,000. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 480.

[3] The text has, incorrectly, بشر. Both MSS. have بشعر which is correct.

"Thou art one who hast not experienced the delicious torment of the night of separation,
Nor seen thyself shrinking from (the fierce delight of) the day of reunion.
The thorn of reproach has not detained thy skirt,
Thou hast not seen thyself with thy head drooping on thy breast like a bud.
Never has thy love been constant,
Thou hast not felt the sweet anguish of the beloved's neglect;
With no one hast thou held discourse of love,
Thou hast a heart which has nothing to regret."

"My heart, at the sight of another in the arms of the beloved, is like the bird
Which the school-boy, from fear of the master, suddenly releases."
"Now that, after an age, my eye falls on the ravisher of my heart
The veil of shame falls between us, so that I cannot see her face."

"I am not one to tell my tale to a messenger,
Or to base pretensions on what a messenger may say."

"From one glance of thine in the assembly of me and my friends
213 What quarrels had we not among ourselves?"

His father, Shāh Qulī Khān, composed[1] the following quatrain:—

[1] In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 596) this quatrain is ascribed to Jazbī himself.

"Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes the wine-bottle,
Once, twice, incessantly I break my flute.
O Lord, deliver me from the evil promptings of my spirit!
How often shall I repent and again break my vow of repentance?"

Praised be God! Even a clod has broken into flame.

One day after the return from the journey to Paṭna[1] Jazbī, Qāẓī Shams-ud-dīn Qazvīnī, and some other poets, began to argue about a couplet of Ḥusain Ṣanā'ī's, viz.:—

"If, for example, thou sittest behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face reversed."[2]

When I drew near to them they asked me the meaning of the couplet which formed the subject of discussion. I replied, "Such is the state of things nowadays that it is impossible to draw any distinction between the poetry of one's friends and (the actions of) Tītāl."[3] Now this Tītāl, who lived in the days of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Darbarī,[4] was a wag[5] and a linguist, a man of disguises,[6] who used to go into social assemblies and into colleges clad in the turban, the clothes, and the trappings of a learned man and accompanied by a body of pupils. He would first introduce his theses and discuss them in a very orderly manner, thus making himself attractive to all present. He would next introduce sophistries confused with meaningless arguments, until even the most learned doctors were thrown into perplexity.

[1] In October, 1574. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 179—184.

[2] *Vide* p. 288 and note (2). Contemporary poets seem to have been as much puzzled over this verse as I am.

[3] تیتال usually signifies "deceit" or "flattery," but it is clear, from what follows, that the author is referring to a man so named, or nicknamed.

[4] I do not understand this epithet. Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā was the king of Khurāsan, of the house of Tīmūr.

[5] مردي مضحكي. The text wrongly omits the word مردي, which appears in both MSS.

[6] قالب "who or what turns, changes, or reverses."

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XXXIV. Jamīlī of Kālpī.

He is the son of Shaikh Jalāl, Wāṣil, who was the deputy of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,[1] and took great delight in the ecstatic songs and dances of *darvīshes*. Jamīlī, though he has very little of the ecstatic piety of his father, is yet not without a love of learning and poetic taste, although he has written some ridiculous[2] verses.

The following verses are extracted from his works:—

"Whenever I think on the rose of thy face,
Like the broken-hearted nightingale I utter lamentations.
If the joy of union with thee has never been my lot,
I can, at least, indulge my heart with grief for the want of thee."

"Since her ringlets have led me into love's madness,
My distracted heart is bound in the bonds of that madness."

He has written an ode in praise of Qāsim 'Alī Khān, the corn-chandler, governor of Kālpī, in the course of which this couplet occurs:—

"To connect thee with the race of Khāns (nobles)
Is most revolting and most unfit."

This couplet also is attributed to him, but God knows whether correctly or not:—

"The mouse of my heart, which I nourished with blood drawn from my liver,
Has been suddenly seized by the cat of love,
Pierced by her teeth, and carried off."[3]

His elder brother, Shaikh Faẓīl, was a wonderful Arabic scholar, and has written some fine poetry in Arabic. The following is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in answer to an ode by Mu'īn-ud-din Ṭanṭarānī:—

1 *Vide* pp. 6—10.

2 Or, perhaps, in a good sense, "comic" or "humorous."

3 This couplet, and that which precedes it, raise a doubt as to what the author meant by attributing هذيان to the poet. One of the couplets is witty and the other is ridiculous.

O beautiful of face, my face, from days of old, has declined,
My soul has descended to the pit and tears have followed like running water.

One day he recited this couplet, and as both he and his respected brother have very sallow complexions I said, "In this opening couplet you have evidently addressed your younger brother." This quip was very well received. The opening couplet of the original ode, which was answered, is:—

"O thou of easy circumstances, sure thou hast thrown my affairs into confusion,
Thou hast disturbed my heart by thine absence and it is in a decline owing to its palpitation."[1]

And Shaikh Faẓīl has written on Faiẓī's commentary[2] an 215
essay in Arabic, in prose and verse, which furnishes sufficient proof of his great learning. At the present time both brothers have set out from Lāhor for their native place. If, in the course of following the object which they have in view, which is a review of all the Imāms of India, they do not slay one another utterly, it will be a wonder.

XXXV. Cishtī.[3]

He is Shaikh Ḥusain the Ṣūfī, whose native place is Dihlī, and as he is a disciple of Shaikh Salīm Cishtī[4] he has chosen

1 This is the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by Ṭanṭarānī.

2 Probably the *Sawāṭi'-ul-ilhām* ('rays of inspiration'). As Faiẓī has been careful, in this book, to use no words containing a dotted letter the work is probably more of interest as a feat of intellectual gymnastics than of value as a theological treatise. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 549.

3 The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains the following notice of Cishtī:—"Shaikh Cishtī of Dihlī, whose name was Ḥasan (probably a misreading for Ḥusain) was one of the disciples of Shaikh Salīm Cishtī. He used to wear the garb of a Ṣūfī and passed his days in religious ecstasy.

4 *Vide* pp. 18—27. The text has "Shaikh Islām," but "Salīm" is correct.

this poetical name. He was one of the Ṣūfī members of the monastery at Fatḥpūr, otherwise known as Sīkrī. He has composed a *dīvān* and is the author of several works, one of which is "The Book of the Heart and the Soul" written in verse, but in an Indian style, and since its purport is the same as that of the book "Beauty and the Heart," in which the master Mīr 'Alī Shīr [1] has displayed his verbosity, it would be a pity to soil one's tongue with the mention of it.

Perhaps this opening couplet is the only one of several thousands of couplets written by Cishtī which is worthy of mention :—

"Such love has Qais [2] for the peacock's feather
That it would seem that he believes its eye to be the foot-print of Lailā's camel."

XXXVI. Ja'far.[3]

He is a Sayyid of Hirāt and has good taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He was the chief paymaster of Ataga Khān [4] and has written an ode and composed an enigma dedicated to Mīrza 'Azīz Kūka,[5] containing a list of his titles and prayers for his long life and prosperity. The following few couplets are selected from his poems :—

[1] Amīr 'Alī Shīr was the *vazīr* of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān, of the house of Tīmūr (A.D. 1470—1505) and was the patron of the poet *Jāmī*. I have not seen a copy of his book, or of Cishtī's, but from the way in which the author speaks of them they were probably books on *Ṣūfī*-ism.

[2] Qais, usually known by his epithet of Majnūn, "the distracted by love," was the lover of Lailā.

[3] This poet is not mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[4] Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataga ('foster-father') Khān was the foster-father of Akbar and was a commander of five thousand. He was murdered by Adham Khān, May 16, 1562. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 321.

[5] Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, Khān-i-A'ẓam, was the son of Ataga Khān and a commander of five thousand. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 325—328.

"Now that the comb has disturbed those musky locks [1]
Ah, that the wind would bear this message to thine ear!"

"I would not that the dust, even of musk, should settle on 216
that cheek,
God forbid that dust should have a place near thy heart."

"The place of herbage in the garden is beneath the foot of the rose,
In the garden of thy beauty [2] herbage has settled on the rose."

XXXVII. Ja'far Beg.[3]

He is well known as Āṣaf Khān the Qazvīnī, and is brother's son to Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī 'Āṣaf Khān, the late paymaster-in-chief. He is himself now one of the chief paymasters. So

[1] Literally "that musky chain." The reference is to the chain hung in the court of an oriental sovereign which petitioners for justice could shake and thus arouse the king and bring their grievances to his notice.

[2] حسنت, as in both MSS. The text has جنت "paradise" which does not suit the meaning of the verse. The reference is to the down on the cheek of the beloved.

[3] Ja'far Beg was Mīrzā Qivām-ud-dīn, son of Badī'-uz-Zamān of Qazvīn, who had been *vazīr* of Kāshān during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and had presented his son at the Persian Court. He came to India in 1577 and was presented to Akbar by his uncle, Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān. After his uncle's death he was appointed commander of two thousand, and received the title of Āṣaf Khān. He was appointed successively Thānadār of Sawād (Swāt), governor of Kashmīr, *dīvān-i-kul*, *Ṣūbadār* of Bihār and commander of three thousand. On Jahāngīr's accession he was appointed *atālīq* to Sulṭān Parvīz and, later, *Vakīl* and commander of five thousand. He accompanied Parvīz to the Dakan as his *atālīq* and died there in A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612) at the age of 63. He was a man of great genius, an able financier, a good accountant, a great horticulturist, and one of the best poets of his time. He was a free-thinker, and was one of the members of Akbar's "divine faith." *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 209, 411—413 *et passim*, *Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī*, 108, 109 *et passim*, and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

bitter is his resentment at having received no honour in the days in which his uncle was influential at court, that he continues to show it, and to attack his uncle even now that he is dead.[1] His poetic genius is greater than that of all his contemporaries, but is restricted by not being exercised, owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great demands made upon his time by official business. He is also moderately fond of learning. Had he been a man of one occupation he would have enchanted the hearts of many of the poverty-stricken people of this time, which would probably have been worth to him forty *tūmāns* in cash.[2] (Whenever he made any considerable sum of money by his poetry he would squander it.)[3]

The following few couplets are some of his :—

"My lives are cast to-day in the ways of injustice
For wherever the beloved sets her footheads fall."

"If, like the moth, I fly distractedly around thy candle,
O obstinate one!
My presumptuous flight will at length land me in death."

"The roses of all are despoiled by the autumn,
But in my case both the rose-tree and the rose-garden are gone."

"Thine affair, O Ja'far! is fallen into the fire,
217 Two hundred songsters are here not worth one salamander."

'At length the day of resurrection has come for the reckoning of my sin.
O, tear up the record of the sins of the people."

[1] Lit. "He fights and quarrels even with his spirit."
[2] Then equivalent to £120.
[3] The passage in brackets is not in the text, but has been supplied from the MSS.

"What plain was this and what hunter that always brought down the game?
No quarry appeared in view, but received an arrow from him."

"I must write a letter concerning my grief to her who possesses my heart;
The grief of my heart is great, I must write to my love concerning it."

'If Thou art pleased with Ja'far, with the faith which he holds and his heart,
I am deputed by him to say that he freely gives Thee this faith and heart."

"Behold my magnanimity! A hundred leaves of the book of hope
Have I torn into a hundred pieces and washed them with tears of blood!"

"A rose has now bloomed in the garden afresh,
For last night the nightingale slept not till the morning."

"Since the city was too small to contain the griefs of my heart
The open plain was created for my heart."

"All thy complaints are over, as mine begin,
For the whole of my complaint is that I do not hear the voice of thy complaint."

'Come into her heart, O pity, and let not my grief be in vain!
For I am deeply afflicted while she is occupied with cruelty."

"Ja'far found the way to the street of his love,
Now he will hardly rise to his feet again."

"She came and distracted me, and remained not for so long
That I could make my heart acquainted with consolation."

XXXVIII. Ḥaidarī of Tabrīz.[1]

He has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah. He was the pupil of Lisānī, and has written, in reply to the book *Sahw-ul-*

[1] In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* it is said that Ḥaidarī came three times from 'Irāq to India and, having profited much by the generosity of Akbar's Court, finally returned to 'Irāq. The following is the substance of Mr. Blochmann's note regarding him, on p. 603, of his translation of vol. i, of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*:—

Ḥaidarī was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr. His company was more agreeable than his poems. The *Maṣnavī* which he wrote in imitation of Ṣa'dī's Bustān is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India he wrote a satirical quatrain on the country, the purport of which is that in a country in which two men can feast for a rupee the worth of the men is not difficult to guess. On his second return to India he found a patron in Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, Khān-i-A'ẓam, who gave him two thousand rupees for an ode. Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, introduced him at Court. For an ode on the elephant Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India he attached himself to Mīrzā 'Abdur-Raḥīm, Khānkhānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujarāt, and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkic. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Agha Khiẓr Nahavandī, befriended him. As Tabrīz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm he settled in 'Irāq, at a place called in the MSS. نطر which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Irāq or Khurāsān. At about that time Shāh 'Abbās came to that place on a hawking expedition and, having been treated with discourtesy by a *darvīsh*, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, which was happily prevented by Ḥaidarī's influence. Ḥaidarī died at this place, beloved by all, in A H 1002 (A D. 1593-94). His son Sāmirī came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khānkhānān Mīr Sāmān of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the wars in the Dakan, when with Shāhnavāz Khān, the son of his patron.

Lisān ('a slip of the tongue') by his fellow-pupil Sharīf of Tabrīz, the *Lisān-ul-Ghaib* ('a voice from heaven') in praise of Lisānī. He was for some time in India and then left and returned, and again went away in such sort that he cannot return again. I have seen his *dīvān*, containing about 14,000 couplets, but with very little good stuff[1] among all these. In an ode describing the imperial elephants he has written:—

"They were not mounds of driven sand—
His elephants, for they are in battle array;
And, for the purpose of engulfing his foes
They are, on every side, the billows of the ocean of calamity."

As meed for this ode the emperor ordered that a horse and a money reward should be given to him, but the treasurer delayed in carrying out the order, and Ḥaidarī wrote this fragment:—

"I have a difficulty, O King! I wish to present to thee a petition.
My difficulty imprints on my heart a hundred brands of regret.
Thou didst command silver and gold to be given to me, but from thy treasurer
It is hard to get, and yet harder not to get."[2]

Some of his verses:—

"No trust is to be placed in the love[3] of the moon-faced beauties of this world
A ray of the sun settles not long on one place.

"I burn ever with an inward fire, such it is.
I am contemned everywhere, such is my miserable lot.

[1] قماش I have translated literally.

[2] From the note on the preceding page it would seem that Ḥaidarī at last received his reward.

[3] This is a play upon words. The word مهر here used, means also "sun."

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A fragment.

"Ḥaidarī! Strive, like the virtuous, to the utmost
To attain to some perfection in this world of sorrow;
For to go from this world deficient in anything
Is as though one were to leave the bath unclean."

XXXIX. Ḥuznī.[1]

He was one of the learned men of 'Irāq. During the disturbances at Hirāt he left that perilous place to journey towards India, but before he reached his goal he set forth for the desert of non-existence. The following verses are his:—

"Laughter comes upon me when I think on the simplicity of Ḥuznī,
For he loves, and expects fidelity from his beloved.
The loved one, in her ignorance, rendered fruitless my efforts on his behalf[2];
And the strange thing is that he is all the more indebted to me."

"I throw my *darvīsh's* robe on the fire that thou mayest smell the odour of faith
From the patched garment, every thread of which is a fire-worshipper's sacred thread."

XL. Ḥayātī of Gīlān.[3]

He was a sympathetic friend, and excelled in all descriptions of poetry. He entered the imperial service on the recommenda-

[1] Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*:—"Mīr Ḥuznī was one of the learned men of his time. He was travelling from 'Irāq to pay his respects to the emperor, when he died." In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 565) he is thus described, "He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted. Friendliness was stamped on his forehead. He is said to have been born in Junābud, and to have been a merchant. He was the pupil of Qāsim-i-Kāhī. (See no. II.)

[2] ز نادانی بر او کرد همدم کار من ضایع. The line as it stands does not scan. We should probably read کردست for کرد

[3] Thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 574). "A stream from the ocean

tion of Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fatḥ and grew up in that service. He has written a *dīvān* and is well acquainted with the poetry of the ancients. Although he is entirely destitute of actual learning he is strenuous and has a sound understanding and a well-balanced mind.

The following verses are his:—

"Watch thyself well in every word that thou utterest, 220
Repent of a speech which gladdens no heart.
What need hast thou of the wing of a bird? If the men of this age are employed in light talk
Borrow the foot of the ant, and flee."

"God doth not accustom my tongue to the uttering of complaints.
May He not associate me with complaints, especially of thee."

Quatrain.

"Ever hast thou treated me with harshness,—thou art excused:
Thou hast heard but the name of faithfulness,—thou art excused:
Thou sayest, 'I am falsely accused of harshness';
Thou hast not tried thyself,—thou art excused."

Quatrain.

"So long as thou art employed in the nurture of vain desires
Thine axe shall strike no stump but thine own foot.

of thought passes by his house; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united; he is free from the bad qualities of poets." He is said to have been born at Rasht in Gīlān and to have belonged to the common people of that place. To better his circumstances he went to India, was introduced by Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (see c. iii, no. VIII) at court, got a *jāgīr*, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khānkhānān in the wars in the Dakan and lived chiefly at Burhānpūr, where he built a villa and a *masjid* called after him. He was alive in A.D. 1615.

No enemy works thee such mischief as thou workest thyself,
Thy blood is on the head of thine own imagining."

"We have associated with unbelievers
But found among them no waist worthy of the sacred thread." [1]

An ode.

"I desire a house of mourning that I may shut its door on myself
But my resolution has peopled it, and now I desire some desert spot.
The world is disturbed by stories of "to-morrow" and "yesterday,"
I desire some tale of the speech of my own grief.
221 From the fields of this world, the harvest of ox and ass,
I desire no harvest nor ear of corn nor even a grain.
I am content whether I be killed by the sword of the warrior of Islām or the arrow of the unbeliever,
I thirst for my own blood and all I require is a cup.
Ḥayātī, sit not before me, prevent not my ravings,
I am a lover and thou art wise, a demented companion is what I require."

XLI. Ḥayā'ī.

He was in Gujarāt with Mīrzā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad.[2] The following verses are by him :—

"The message of the loved one re-opens the wound in my liver,
And renews the grief of farewells and the pain of the journey."

[1] زنّار the sacred thread worn by Hindūs of the higher castes and by fire-worshippers.

[2] The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, in which work Ḥayā'ī is not mentioned.

Quatrain.

"The lover pressed his cheek against thy door and went,
He displayed that love which he had for thee and went
One night, having obtained admission to the assembly and union with thee by a thousand stratagems,
The moth opened his eyes to the candle, and went."

XLII. Ḥālatī.[1]

His name was Yādgār, and he claimed descent from the late Sulṭān Sanjar,[2] though in the *Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī* [3] Mīrzā Aḥmad says that he was a Caghatāī. He was known for his sincerity and orthodoxy. He wrote a *dīvān*. The following verses are his :—

"From weeping there remains not in my liver so much moisture 222
That the bird of thine arrow could wet his bill therein."

"Would that I could be the string of thy shift
So that thou and I might be enclosed in one garment." [4]

"That line of dark musk on the age of thy cheek
Is a new revelation from on high."

"I constantly come behind the rival and cover his eyes in sport,
That he may have no share in the joy of beholding my beloved."

"The dark mole is placed by the corner of thine eye
Like a hunter sitting in ambush for his prey."

[1] Ḥālatī is thus briefly described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 595), "His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man." In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is described as a soldier by profession.

[2] The fifth son of Pīr Muḥammad Mīrzā, grandson of Amīr Tīmūr.

[3] This is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* by Mīrzā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad.

[4] Cf. Tennyson's "The Miller's Daughter"

"Again am I weeping for the beauty of that rose,
To-day have I seen the rose, for I have again become the nightingale."

"Thy ravishing lip has suffered much from fever spots,
Alas that thy rose-petal has been damaged by hail."

Ḥālatī's father had the poetical name of Wālihī. This opening couplet is by him:—

"The moon of the 'Id has shown her eyebrow, and gladdened my heart,
Thanks be to God, who has freed me from this thirty days' grief." [1]

His son, although he had the poetical name of Baqā'ī, changed it to Rusvā'ī ('the blackguard') on account of his unprofitableness. He met an early death, for having, by instructions from his mother, given his unfortunate father poison, for some fault that he had committed. He was sent, by the emperor's order, from Kashmīr to Lāhor, where the *Kotwāl* executed him. He had some poetic genius, and wrote the following couplet:—

223 "While thy death-dealing glance is the despoiler of life
Death looks on from afar with regret."

XLIII. The Khān-i-A'ẓam.[2]

He is Ataga Khān who, when the imperial army was defeated at Jausā,[3] at the time when the king who had obtained forgive-

[1] The thirty days' fast of Ramaẓān, which comes to an end on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwāl, which ushers in the *'Id-ul-Fiṭr*.

[2] Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān entered the service of Kāmrān Mīrzā as a common soldier. For the service rendered in saving his life Humāyūn attached him to his service and subsequently, at Amarkoṭ, appointed his wife wet-nurse (*anaga*) to the child Akbar, conferring on her the title of *Jī Jī anaga*. Shams-ud-dīn remained with the young prince while Humāyūn was in Persia, and received, after the emperor's restoration, the title of Ataga ('foster-father') Khān. After Akbar's accession Ataga Khān was sent to Kābul to bring to India the empress-mother and the other *Begams*.

[3] A village on the banks of the Ganges, where Humāyūn was defeated

ness,[1] the emperor Humāyūn, fell, like a crocodile, into the river Ganges, and the sun of dignity [2] nearly disappeared for ever in that boundless waste of waters, seized his hand and brought him from that whirlpool of calamity and from the deep waters of destruction to the shore of safety and security. This service led to his very great advancement.

Although his dignity is too great for him to be described as a poet or one given to poetry, still, as he had poetic genius the following verses by him are quoted:—

"My little tear, set not thy foot forth from the house of my eye.
For well-born children [3] leave the house but seldom."

"If the full moon in her glory should boast o'er the sun of thy face
She will at last sink down from the turquoise sky inverted."

by Shēr Shāh. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 459 and n. 4 and 462 and n. 3. Badāonī is, however, mistaken here in saying that Ataga Khān's service was rendered at the battle of Jausā. Humāyūn was saved after that battle by a water-carrier named, according to Firishta, Niẓām, who is said by the same authority to have been allowed, as a reward, to occupy the throne for half a day. Ataga Khān saved Humāyūn after the battle of Qanauj. "The King rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover, the king, while crossing the river Ganges, became separated from his horse, and, by the help of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'ẓam Khān), escaped from the water and returned to Āgra." *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 464. Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, in the *Ṭabaqāt*, says, "He had the title of Khān-i-A'ẓam, and was the foster-father of his majesty. He attained to the grade of an *Amīr* and *Vakīl* of the empire and tasted the cup of martyrdom at the hands of Adham Khān." (May 16 1562.)

[1] That is to say, deceased.

[2] سان MS. (B) has شان and if this reading be accepted the translation will be, "his sun nearly disappeared," etc.

[3] مردم زادها an obvious reference to مردمک چشم 'the pupil of the eye.

The following quatrain is by his son, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān[1]:—

"Those who walk self-satisfied in the street of desire are of one sort,
The paupers of the valley of love of another.
Those who seek aught but the pleasure of the beloved
Differ widely from those who grieve with love."

XLIV. Khanjar Beg.[2]

He is one of the Caghatāī nobles and is related to Tardī Beg Khān,[3] who has been already mentioned. He has written a
224 *maṣnavī* of three hundred couplets on his own condition and containing also the praise of the emperor. He is a versatile man, unequalled in the art of war, in calligraphy, in poetry, in the composition of enigmas, in general knowledge, in the use of the astrolabe, in astronomy, and in handling figures. He is also the author of several works, and he has enumerated his own excellences in the *maṣnavī* already mentioned. In the art of music he collected information regarding the systems of the Persians and

[1] MS. (A) styles him, wrongly, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. He was the eldest son of Ataga Khān and distinguished himself, when twelve years old, in the fight with Bairām Khān, and was made a Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, 'Azīz Kūka. He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of the Khān Zamān. He died, of excessive drinking, in 1565-66, at the age of eighteen.

[2] Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*:—"He is one of the old Caghatāī *amīrs* of this dynasty. He was an accomplished man and excelled specially in music. He had poetic genius and wrote a well-known *maṣnavī* on dancing girls.

[3] A noble of Humāyūn's court, who was faithless to his master but was forgiven after Humāyūn's return from Persia. During the conquest of India Tardī Beg Khān distinguished himself and received Mewāt in *jāgīr*. On Humāyūn's death he read the *khuṭbah* in Akbar's name and sent the crown jewels to him in the Panjāb. He was appointed by Akbar a commander of five thousand and governor of Dihlī. On Hemū's approach he evacuated Dihlī after some unsuccessful fighting and on this account was put to death by Bairām Khān in 1556.

the Indians and particularly regarding the six modes[1] of Hindū music, an undertaking which is impossible except to wealthy men of high rank and exalted position; and, indeed, there is now no trace of that information left in the land.

He had no equal in his time. These few couplets, written for the edification and instruction of the emperor, are excerpted from the *maṣnavī* already mentioned:—

"O King! The world is a wonderful place,
Every moment it presents some fresh spectacle.
The revolving sky, like a deceitful juggler,
Begins every moment some new prank.
From times of old there have been in the world
Crowned kings, with armies and suites.
Of those old heroes, with all their desires and ambitions,
There remain time-worn histories, naught else.
Had the prophets seen any hope of permanence in the world
Why should they have fled from it?
O King! the works of this world are all envy,
Thus is it now, and was in the past, and ever will be:
Among all these complicated affairs
One's first object should be to acquire a good name, the rest is naught.
The object of this long harangue of mine is to say
What thou should'st do now that thy turn for sovereignty has arrived.
In this age, in which the world is adorned by thy presence,
May God be thy protector from harm!
If the *humā*[2] has flown from this rose-garden
Cast thou thy shadow on our heads.
Since my words are without guile
It is meet that I should offer thee counsel.

[1] راگ. The modes are *Bhairav*, *Mālav*, *Sārang*, *Hinḍol*, *Vasant*, *Dīpak*, and *Megh*.

[2] هُما A fabulous bird, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground, and looked upon as a bird of happy omen, prognosticating a crown to every one whom it overshadows.

Since I strive only for thy welfare,
Why should I conceal from thee the words of truth?
To all words, whether uttered by this one or that one,[1]
Give ear, if they touch the root of the matter.
It behoves a king, both in season and out of season,
To take heed to himself and to consider both the people and God.

225 The poor man's error leads only to the loss of his bread,
The king's error is a calamity to the world.
The beggar takes heed only for his gullet and his patched robe.
In the king's heart there must be thought for the people.
Kingship is best exercised according to law,
As the king's order is authenticated by his great seal.
Since it is thy turn to exercise sovereignty,
It is necessary for thee to exercise caution and prudence.
Thou art as the candle, thy kingdom as the house,
And thy people are around thee like moths.
The mote in the sunbeam is not seen if the sun shines not,
And where there is no candle there is no moth.
That is to say, the livelihood of all is from thee,
Thou art the shepherd, and thy people are the flock.
The flock has come to thy pasture;
How canst thou leave the flock to wander unrestrained?
God has appointed thee their guardian,
The shepherd's dignity belongs to His prophets;
Neglect not then the practice of the prophets.
But take heed to thyself and also to mankind.
A happy life is a jewel. See that thou value it properly,
And count as gain both wealth and dominion.
Thou art a king with a prophet's attributes,
Thou art in the world for a great work.
Justice and equity, generosity, knowledge, liberality,
Favour and grace, humanity kindness, and faithfulness.

[1] زيد يا عمر 'Zaid' or 'Amr,' proper names used by way of generalization.

All these thou hast by the grace of God,
What shall I do if thou ignore thine own worth?
Thou ridest, laughing light-heartedly, on thy fierce elephant,
But the people lining the walls to see thee pass are weeping.
Thou layest thy hand on the tusk of the elephant,
But thy people take the finger of anxiety between their teeth:
Thou layest thy hand on the elephant's trunk,
But our sleeves are shaken free of the world.
Thou boldly facest the raging tiger,
While men flee on every side in terror:
Take thou thy pleasure in the fighting of leopards
While we in fear tear our faces with our hands and our nails:
Thou withstandest unmoved the attack of the wolf,
While all, both great and small, wonder at thee from afar:
Thou seizest by its neck the snake that has, like the dragon, an arrow for its tongue,
While the people of the world are writhing in dread:
Thou art swimming in a boundless ocean,
While we, washing our hands of life, stand trembling on its brink.
Thou enterest the forest intent on the chase, 226
The people stand at its margin in fear and anxiety.
In one dark night thou travellest a month's journey,
While men struggle after thee sighing for the light of a torch:
Thou wanderest almost naked in the cold,
While the people are shivering under their wrappings:
Thou runnest, heavily clad, in the heat,
While the people bathed in sweat, take shelter under a tree:
Thou pressest onward in every direction on foot,
While we on our horses are fainting with weariness:
Thou facest the warlike foe on the field of battle,
While the army looks on from every side.

What favour is this, and what sympathy,
That thou hast towards us and towards thyself?
This valour of thine is beyond conception,
This bravery is ever fresh in thee.
Although these things are doubtless a merit,
They are, nevertheless, a defect in a king
While the king remains far removed from hurt,
The people of his land are in safety:
If a king never spares himself,
The whole world is thrown into confusion.
We desire the world and our lives to be blessed with thy [presence;
Without thee what are the world and our lives to us?
Khanjar, beware of prolixity,
And weary not the king's heart:
This speech of thine has wandered from the point,
And the king has no need of it:
Since he is accepted before God
His wealth consists in devotion to business.
His very sleep is perfect wakefulness
Even when he wanders, it is perfect wisdom.
The right is with him who does his duty
And thus becomes independent of all labour."

When he recited this *maṣnavī* he was honoured with various favours. He has also composed a *dīvān*, which is well known. The following verses are by him:—

"How often in her street shall my heart secretly heave sighs,
And afterwards how often shall I lament that my life is leaving me?"

———

"The waters have passed over my head, and my life has gone on the breeze;
My body has become dust; yet still the fire of my heart breaks into flame."

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At the time when the Khānzamān and Bahādur raised their heads as high as the star Capella in turbulence and rebellion[1]

1 'Alī Qulī Khān received the title of Khānzamān after defeating and capturing Hemū at Pānipat. Babādur was his younger brother. The Khān-i-Zamān rendered most important services by clearing the eastern districts of Afghāns, and amassed great wealth from his spoils. He was constantly in rebellion. He first fell into disgrace owing to a scandalous affair with Shāham Beg, who had been page to Humāyūn, and was deprived of his *maḥalls*. He then rebelled, and having defeated the Afghāns under Shēr Khān, the son of 'Adlī, in Jaunpūr, retained the spoil for himself. At the end of the sixth year of his reign Akbar moved against him in person, but the Khānzamān submitted, and was pardoned, and his *maḥalls* in Jaunpūr were restored to him. In the tenth year he again rebelled, but was induced by Mun'im Khan to submit. Late in the year 1566, when Akbar marched against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Khānzamān rebelled again, read the *Khuṭbah* at Jaunpūr in the name of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and marched against Qannauj.' In 1567 Akbar resolved no longer to pardon the Khānzamān, left the Panjāb, returned to Āgra, and marched thence against the rebel. The Khānzamān fled from Qannauj to Mānikpur where his brother Bahādur was. The rebels were finally defeated by Akbar at Fathpūr about 10 or 12 miles S E. of Kara, on the Ganges, on June 9, 1567. Bahādur was captured and executed and the Khānzamān was decapitated by a soldier, his head being brought to Akbar. It was probably after this battle that Khanjar Beg fled to Bengal.

Khanjar Beg was confederate with them, and fled into Bengal, and he has probably disappeared in consequence of those disorders.

XLV. Khusravī.[1]

He is sister's son to Mīrzā Qāsim of Junābid.[2] He came to India after performing the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, and he is in the service of the emperor's eldest son.[3] He is worthy of mention. The following verses are by him:—

"The heart of Khusravī is so inflamed with the light of love
That candles to light his tomb may be made of his bones."

1 Called in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 591) Khusravī of Qāīn, a town between Yazd and Hirāt. Dāghistānī calls him Sayyid Amir Khusravī and says that he excelled in music. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he was sister's son to Mīrzā Qāsim of *Rukhābād* (probably a misreading) and entered the emperor's service, in which he was honoured by the imperial bounty.

2 Otherwise Junābud and Gūnābād

3 Sultan Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.

"The lions of the temple of Makkah will not pollute their claws with my blood,
Do thou, my companion, regale with this morsel the dogs of the monastery."[1]

XLVI. Mīr Daurī.[2]

His name is Sulṭān Bāyazīd, and his title *Kātib-ul-Mulk* ('scribe of the kingdom'). It is probable that nobody in Hindūstān has written the *nasta'līq* hand better than he, and he has reasonably good taste in poetry. At the end of his life he obtained grace to perform the pilgrimage of Islām. The following verses are by him:—

"At times thou art in my very soul, and at times in my afflicted heart,
Such is thy levity that thou canst not remain in one place."

An ode.

"Had I not been pampered by union with thee,
I had never suffered so much now from parting with thee.[3]
223 The bird of my heart is burnt like a moth. Ah me!
Would that I had never fluttered around that candle which illumines the night.
Had I not brought blood to my eyes with the arrow of her eyelashes,
I had never become a mark for her heart-piercing arrow."

A quatrain.

"Since my love has departed from my sight,
My heart's blood flows from my afflicted eyes.

[1] i.e. "Since Islām will have none of me hand me over to the Christians or the Zoroastrians."

[2] Called in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 103), where he is mentioned only as a calligraphist, Maulānā Daurī. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is thus described, "Mīr Daurī, a calligraphist to whom the emperor gave the title of Kātib-ul-Mulk. He is the author of a *dīvān*." He was born at Hirāt.

[3] Cf. 'Ae fond Kiss' by Burns.

She has gone from my sight but not gone from my heart.
Nay, surely this cannot be,
For that which goes from the sight goes from the heart."

One of the Mīr's pupils in calligraphy, who was also one of the writer's companions, was Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain the *Aḥadī*[1] (may God have mercy on him!), who was a well-born man of the city of Balūṭ,[2] and closely related to Shaikh 'Abd-ur Raḥmān the Balūṭī of Lāhor, who was, in his time, famed throughout the world as a religious leader and a follower of the saints. Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain in the flower of his youth left this world of deceit for the abode of joy, to the infinite regret of his friends; and the writer suffered in one year, and within the space of a few days, the grief of losing him and the grief of losing Mīrzā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad,[3] and these griefs renewed my regret for the loss of my old friends—a regret which grows stronger every day.

[1] The *Aḥadīs* were a corps of picked men corresponding to the 'Gentlemen of the Lifeguards' in the days of Charles II and James VII. Most of the clerks in the imperial offices and the foremen in Akbar's workshops belonged to this corps. According to Abū l-Faẓl they were called *Aḥadīs* because they were fit 'for a harmonious unity,' whatever meaning was attached by Akbar's phrase-maker to that cryptic utterance. They provided their own horses and were thus what we call *silaḥdārs*, and men were frequently selected for command from this *corps d'élite*. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, *passim*. Akbar was so prejudiced against the Arabic language, as being the sacred tongue of Islām, that he condescended to tamper with the spelling of words, excluding letters that were peculiar to Arabic. احدي thus became اهدي in official records.

[2] In north-western Afghānistān.

[3] The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and intimate friend of the author. Badāonī (vol. ii, text 397) says, "He passed away from this faithless world at the age of 45 of a hectic fever, and carried nothing with him but a good name. Many of his friends and companions who had had experience of his courtesy, entertained great hopes of him, but none more than this worthless one, closely bound to him by a community of faith and friendship, entirely disinterested so far as worldly matters were concerned. We shed tears of grief and beat our breasts with the stone of despair but saw at length no remedy but patience and resignation which are the quality of the holy and the practice of the pious. Regarding this calamity as the greatest of misfortunes and disasters, I took it greatly to heart, and henceforth let my heart

Alas, I see no remedy for my pain!
I had some hope of union:—that is gone
All my concerns are languishing, because
I see that the promise of my friends is unfulfilled.

Alas! Misfortunes have crowded so thickly upon me that I have scarcely the strength left to bewail them. But what cause is there for bewailing, since we are all beneath one dome and have but to pass behind the veil to meet once more?

The following chronogram was composed on Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain's death:—

229 "In accordance with the command of the Ruler of the universe,
In the month of Safar, Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain
Journeyed from this world of wickedness and dishonour,
And the date of his death was found in the words,
'Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusain.'"[1]

XLVII. Dakhlī.[2]

He has recently come from 'Irāq and has been appointed an

go out no more in friendship to any person, resigning myself to the corner of obscurity."

[1] The sum of the letters is:—600 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 + 10 + 50 = 997 (A.D. 1589).

[2] In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 608) Dakhlī 'of Iṣfahān' is thus described, "He is a man without selfishness and of a reserved character. Though he says but little he is a man of worth." Mr. Blochmann discovered the following facts about Dakhlī. His name was Malik Aḥmad, and he was the son of Malik-ul-Mulūk Maqṣūd 'Alī, proprietor of Verkopāī, twelve *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abū-l-Qāsim, who had such influence with Ṭahmāsp that several legacies in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed *Mutawallī*. He thus grew rich, and obtained so great a following that people persuaded Ṭahmāsp that he was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was therefore blinded, and afterwards lived a retired life. He addressed to Ṭahmāsp a poem which procured him a pension. In his retirement Dakhlī was employed to arrange his poems and thus acquired a taste for poetry, and received from his grandfather the *takhalluṣ* of Dakhlī. After attending on his maternal uncle for some time Dakhlī went to Isfahān, where

Aḥadī,[1] and before he attained this dignity he wrote the following quatrain on Sharīf-i-Sarmadī[2] the roster-keeper, inspector of the *Aḥadīs*, who has an enormous moustache:—

"This simpleton will at length become an *Aḥadī*,
And will be asking for the felt cap[3]
In the depth of his perplexity he will, a hundred times a day,
Become a sacrifice for Sarmadī's moustache."

XLVIII. Dānihī.[4]

Dānih is a village in the district of Nīshāpūr,[5] where he passed a life of humble contentment in tilling the soil. Suddenly the seed of wandering was sown in his heart and he conceived a desire to visit India and gained no advantage from his husbandry. He has written most of his poetry in his own rustic dialect, but has also composed many odes in more polished language. He gave up the use of his own rustic dialect when he found that it could not be understood by the generality of people. One day a poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Ulfatī was playing polo, when his stick flew from his hand and struck him on the nose. Dānihī wrote the following epigram on the circumstance:—

"So much bad verse did Ulfatī recite
That all the libertines were delighted with him.
His polo stick by ill chance broke
The bridge of his nose instead of his teeth."[6]

They say that Qilīj Khān[7] was the subject of this epigram. 230

he acquired some reputation as a poet. He came to India in A.D. 1589 and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1594-95 he went to the Dakan and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1616. He was a good soldier.

[1] *Vide* p. 317, n. 1.

[2] *Vide* no. LXII.

[3] Worn by the *Aḥadīs*.

[4] Dānihī is not mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[5] Or Nīshābūr, the well-known town in Khurāsān.

[6] i.e., that he might recite no more poetry.

[7] *Vide* no. XV.

XLIX. Davā'ī.

He is Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk.[1] He traces his descent on the mother's side to that most learned man Maulānā Jalāl-ud-dīn Davvānī.[2] He is distinguished by his gracious manners and excellent qualities, and in the treatment of ophthalmia his equal has not been seen. Occasionally he occupies himself by writing poetry, and the following are some of his verses:—

An ode.

"It is not only hail that rains down from the cloud of grief on me in my misery.
But stones that rain down upon me in the form of calamities.
So violent towards lovers is that capricious and cruel charmer,
That even in the course of familiarity warfare gleams in her eye.
Davā'ī, it is infidelity to despair at the door of her favour,
For rain from the cloud of her generosity covers leagues."

"Each night my lamentations, sighs, and weeping reach the sky.
O Lord! What shall one whose days are as dark as mine do with such nights as these?"

An ode.

"No waste spot is to be seen which cannot be peopled.
The incurable pain of love is that here no plans avail.
In the night of her dark locks the sleep of death fell upon me,
A wonderful and confused dream not to be interpreted.
Ah, what a glance was that to slay a lover, and where is the stage on the journey of love
In which is to be found a breast unpierced by an arrow?"

[1] *Vide* c. iii. no IV

[2] A renowned logician, known as Muṣaṇṇifu-l-Davvānī.

"Each one who has tasted a drop of the wine of love
Has become more wearied than before, and broken both cup and wine-jar." 231

"Awake, my heart, for the beloved is enraged,
And life has become hard for lovers.
For lovers, on the way of devotion,
Every step is a hundred thousand leagues.
The spacious arsenal of love
Is all too narrow for the army of my affection.
The arm of my ambition is long enough,
But what shall I do? For my good fortune is lame.
Davā'ī beware, for in the street of the beloved
Strife is hot and love is in disguise."

"Bright are those eyes which know how to see,
Happy is that heart which knows how to palpitate.
How shall the torment of this narrow cage
Be endured by the bird of my soul, which has learnt how to soar?
Never remains in the corner of my eye
That little tear which has learnt how to run down my cheek.
There is not to be found elsewhere in a house
A wild creature which has learnt how to flee.
Davā'ī no longer has any desire for heaven,
Since he has learnt how to pluck the rose of thy garden."

"On the day of separation, which is the moment when (the heart) burns,
The soul's employ is to fan the flame.
In the night of separation, when hope of life must be foregone, 232
The heart's employ is to heap up pain and grief.
Ah separation, such a calamity art thou that ever
Hell is in flames for fear of thee!

From the two magicians, coquetry and blandishment,
The drunkard may learn quarrelsomeness.
Davā'ī, the longing for association with the fair,
Is an attempt to unite flame and cotton."

L. Rafī'ī.[1]

He is Mīr Ḥaidar of Kāshān, the composer of enigmas. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste. He is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms,[2]—

[1] Mr. Blochmann in note 3 on p. 593 of his translation of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* says, "His full name, according to Taqī-i-Auḥadī is Amīr Rafī'-ud-dīn Ḥaidar. He was a Ṭabāṭabā Sayyid of Kāshān The *Ma'āgīr-i-Raḥīmī* states that he left Persia in 999 (A.D. 1590-91) on account of some wrong which he had suffered from the King of Persia, went from Gujarāt in company with Khwāja Ḥabībullāh to Lāhor, and was well received by Akbar." After a stay of a few years in India he returned to his country and in the shipwreck mentioned below lost property to the value of two lakhs of rupees. Rafī'ī was saved and returned to India, where his losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amīrs. After some time he again returned to his country, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makkah and Madīnah, where he stayed four years. In A.D. 1604 he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh 'Abbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the *Ātashkada-i-Āzarī* he died in A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622-23). He had a son, Mīr Hāsham-i-Sanjar, mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* (trans. i, 595).

Rafī'ī is thus described in the *Āīn*, "His name is Ḥaidar. He is well acquainted with the art of poetry, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and chronograms." The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains the following notice of him, "Mir Ḥaidar, the writer of enigmas, had the poetical name of Rafī'ī. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste, and is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms. He spent his time in the emperor's service."

[2] One of Rafī'ī's feats in this way was the discovery that the numerical values of the letters of the *Sūrat-ul-Ikhlāṣ*, the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, gave the date of the completion of Faiẓī's *Sawāṭi'-ul-Ilhām*, the commentary on the *Qur'ān* composed entirely of letters without dots. The chapter, which is also called *Sūrat-ut-Tauḥīd*, runs as follows:—

قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

indeed, he does not even know that there are any arts but these two. One day Shaikh Faiẓī told him that the art of composing enigmas had gone out of fashion in Hindūstān and that the practice of it was considered unworthy. He replied, "I have toiled for years in my own country in the study of enigmas, and now that I have grown old in this pursuit, how can I give it up?" He came with Khwāja Ḥabībullāh from Gujarāt to Lāhor and received a fixed allowance from the emperor's privy purse and from courtiers. He embarked in a ship and set sail for his native land, but, when he had passed Hurmuz and was nearing Kīj and Makrān,[1] his ship was wrecked and all that he had was lost, among the rest several parts of Shaikh Faiẓī's pointless commentary[2] on the *Qur'ān*, letters of introduction from learned men, and Faẓīl's *dīvān*, a copy of which he was sending abroad in order to increase his reputation. 233

The following verses are by Rafī'ī:—

"I have a tender heart, my sprightly love, what remedy is there for me?
I am a lover with the nature of one beloved, what can I do?"

"I was jealous of Rafī'ī's coffin, for thou
Didst accompany it weeping more bitterly than the mourners."

A quatrain.

"The devotee sins not, for Thou art the Avenger,
We are steeped in sin, for Thou art the Pardoner;

and the sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 972 (= A.D. 1564-65). Mr Blochmann in note 2 on p 549 of his translation of vol. i of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* makes the date A.H. 1002 (= A.D. 1593-94) but this is an error. For this fortunate discovery Rafī'ī received 10,000 rupees from Faiẓī.

[1] Badāoni's geography is here at fault. Rafī'ī could not have reached Hurmuz (Ormuz) which is an Island in the Persian Gulf opposite to Gombroon or Bandar-i-'Abbās, until he had passed beyond the coast of Makrān. Kīj is an inland town of Makrān.

[2] That is to say the commentary composed of undotted letters. See note (1) above.

He calls Thee the Avenger, and we the Pardoner,
O Lord! say which name Thou preferrest."

———

And he has a quatrain which contains twenty-six chronograms.[1]

LI. Rahā'ī.[2]

He is descended from Shaikh Zain-ud-din of Khavāf,[3] and he has composed a famous *dīvān*. The following verses are his:—

"O love, thou didst encourage me to hope for thy favour,
And didst then repulse my hope on every side."

———

"I travelled in order to ease my heart of its grief,
How was I to know that a hundred mountains of grief would confront me on my way?"

———

"The secrets which I have with that rose are as buds formed of my heart's blood;
To tell the heart's secrets to all is hard indeed."

[1] This quatrain has not been quoted, and is not mentioned either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 592, and note 1. It is there said of Rahāī that "he pretended to be a Ṣūfi." His name was Maulānā Sa'd-ud-din of Khavāf or Khāf.

[3] Zain-ud-dīn Khāfī or Khavāfī, from whom Rahā'ī traced his descent, was a famous saint who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 838 (May A.D. 1435). He was buried first at Malīn (or Bālīn), then at Darvīshābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmi's *Nafḥat-ul-Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zain-ud-dīn Tāibādī

Khāf or Khavāf is a district and town in Khurāsān, which belonged to the revenue district of Nishabūr, and was famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men which it produced The town was also famous for the fact that its inhabitants were bigoted Sunnīs, and were persecuted by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. Its inhabitants are now Shī'ahs. The number of Khavāfis in the service of the Mughal emperors was considerable. The one whose name is best known is Muḥammad Hāsham, known as Khāfī or Khavāfī Khān, author of the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, a valuable historical work in three volumes.

"Pass not from my eyes like tears, my dear,
Be more humane and pass not thus by men."[1] 234

———

"In the heat of thy wrath thou throwest me into the fire,
And then coquettishly warmest thy hands at the fire."

———

"I have so devoted myself to thankfulness for that small mouth and that eyebrow like the new moon
That nobody now calls me to mind."

———

"I have suffered cruelty not only at the hands of that faithless and capricious girl
But at the hands of all from whom I hoped for faithfulness."

———

"Thou, my friend, dost not know all the grief of my heart,
Nor all that I have suffered at the hands of that cruel moon-faced beauty."

LII. Raughanī.[2]

He was an impudent jack-pudding whose jesting passed all bounds. He was for many years in the service of the emperor. He has written a *dīvān* containing nearly three thousand couplets. This is one of his couplets:—

"The martyr who suffers death by the sword of his injustice enjoys life eternal:
Perhaps the master-armourer who tempered the sword used the water of life."

The idea contained in this couplet closely resembles that in the couplet of Mir Ashkī,[3] already quoted, namely:—

[1] It is difficult in translation to preserve the pun on مردمی ('humanity,' 'urbanity') and مردم ('a human being').

[2] Raughanī is not mentioned in the *Āīn*. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, "He was for many years in the emperor's service. He had a bitter tongue as a lampooner."

[3] *Vide supra* no. XI.

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there like drunken men;
It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine instead of water."

The following verses are also by Raughanī:—

"I weep not for her cruelty, for I fear that my rival
235 Might guess from my weeping whose cruelty was its cause."

"My burning heart in her hands and beneath her feet is like a live coal.
Which a boy in sport takes up and quickly flings away."

"Thy dignity so plants upon the mountains the foot of clemency
That fountains of water flow from each vein of it."

"O messenger! Give her by word of mouth an account of my condition,[1] for in my letter
There are many words which have flowed from my pen while I was beside myself."

"The messenger gives me news of her coming
In order that the force of my desire for her may draw me to the road by which she is to pass."

In the year H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when the imperial army was marching towards Gujarāt,[2] Raughanī died beneath the fort of Ābūgarh[3] and was buried there. Qāsim Arsalān[4] made the following chronogram on his death:—

[1] Or, 'my desire' if the variant شوقم be accepted

[2] When Akbar was marching to the conquest of Gujarāt, which was annexed to the empire at the end of 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 139—149.

[3] Mount Ābū in Rājputāna, now a well-known sanatorium.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 251.

"Like a dog he delivered up his soul to the abode of infidelity."[1]

LIII. Zain Khān Kūka.[2]

236

In playing Hindū music, beating the drum, and other accomplishments of that sort he is unrivalled in this age. Although he cannot be said to have any other accomplishments, save calligraphy and transcription, yet he sometimes composes a couplet. The following is one of his couplets:—

"This world, which moves crookedly, gives me no rest,
Until I have threaded my needle with the thread of my desire."

LIV. Sulṭān of Saplak.[3]

Saplak is a village in the Qandahār district. The vulgar in India call him Siplakī (Sipkalī) with a *kasr* to the *bā*, which

[1] The numerical values of the letters, added together, give 981, or one year in excess of the correct date.

[2] Zain Khān was the son of Khwāja Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant of Akbar's mother and Pīca Jān Anaga, one of Akbar's nurses. As he was thus Akbar's foster-brother, he was called Kūka. The daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan (Zain Khān's paternal uncle) married Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr) and was the mother of Sulṭān Parvīz. In A.D. 1595-96 Sulṭān Salīm married Zain Khān's daughter. Zain Khān was employed against the Afghāns in the campaign in which Bīr Bar fell. In 1586 he operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghorīs near Peshāwar, and in 1587 was appointed governor of Zābulistān. In 1588 he moved against the Yūsufzais, and, after eight months' fighting, subdued them. In 1589 he was employed against rebellious *Zamīndārs* in the Himālayas, and subdued them. In 1590 he was made a commander of four thousand and in 1595-96 a commander of five thousand. He died in 1601-02, partly from excessive drinking. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* trans. Blochmann, i, 344. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is given a title, apparently a *takhallus*, which I cannot understand. It reads *Al-Fatḥābā*. The text of the Lakhnau edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* is very corrupt.

[3] I have not been able to find the village 'Saplak' and therefore cannot be sure that the vowels in this are correct. MSS. (A) and (B) read سپکلی 'Sapkalī' or Sipkalī, and this reading agrees better than that in the text with the Indian nickname given to the poet. *Vide infra*.

means 'a lizard,' [1] and this greatly offended him, and he used to say, "What can I do, though they call me by the name of such a dirty carrion creature?" He was a devotee girt as to the loins and unfettered by conventions. On the day on which he saw Mullā Qāsim Kāhī [2] he asked him his age. Qāsim replied, "I am two years younger than God." Sulṭān said, "My dear sir, I took you to be two years older. I fear you are deducting from your years." Mullā Qāsim laughed and said, "You are worthy to associate with us." It may be noted that as Mullā Qāsim Kāhī was a great plagiarist he probably borrowed this speech from Shaikh Bāyazīd of Busṭām [3] who said, "I am younger than my Lord by two years." This is one of the ravings of the *Ṣūfīs*, and some men of God have interpreted it to mean, "I am younger than God (may He be honoured and glorified!) by two years, i.e. in two qualities, that is to say self-existence and omnipotence"; for a creature may display all divine attributes and qualities except these two; for the brand of accidental existence and dependence can never be removed from the forehead of a created being. I ask forgiveness of God for this nonsense and these ravings!

Sulṭān had a disposition well attuned to poetry. When he saw the Khānzamān,[4] who also used Sulṭān as a poetical name, and presented to him an ode in his praise, the Khānzamān sent him, as a reward for it, a thousand rupees and a robe of honour,
237 together with a request that he would, for his sake, change his poetical name. He sent back the gift and said, "Sulṭān Muḥammad is my name, which was given to me by my father. How can I give it up? Moreover, I wrote poetry under this

[1] كيلاس I cannot discover this word, but its meaning is clear. *Kasr* is the short vowel *i*, but Badāonī is wrong in attaching it to the *bā* or *pā*. He should have attached it to the *sīn*. The vulgar apparently called the poet either *Sipkali* or *Siplaki*. چپكلي (*Chipkalī*) is the Hindūstānī word for the common house-lizard, which lives on flies and insects. سپلک (*Siplak*) is a Dakanī corruption of the same word.

[2] *Vide* no. II.

[3] *Vide* p. 7 and note 1.

[4] *Vide* the next biography.

name many years before you did, and obtained much fame by it." The Khānzamān said, "If you do not give up the name I will throw you under the feet of an elephant," and being enraged, he had an elephant brought to the spot. Sulṭān said "Ah, what good fortune is mine, that I shall attain martyrdom!" After the Khānzamān had threatened and intimidated him for a long time, Maulānā 'Alā-ud-dīn Lārī,[1] the Khānzamān's tutor, suggested that an ode should be selected from the *dīvān* of the reverend Maulavī Jāmī,[2] (may God hallow his tomb!) which was at hand, and that if Sulṭān could answer it extemporaneously he should be pardoned, but if not the Khānzamān should do with him as he had proposed. From the *dīvān* of the reverend master (may his tomb be hallowed!) this ode was selected:—

The writing of God's creation knew the writing on thy heart,
And knew the invisible proofs of kingship on the heads of beardless boys.

Sulṭān Muḥammad recited an extemporary ode, the opening couplet of which is:—

"Whoever has regarded his heart as the shell containing the pearl of God's secret
Has rightly appraised his own jewel."

Although this ode was no great matter the Khānzamān was exceedingly pleased and praised it, and, having given the poet twice the reward which he had given before, dismissed him with honour. But Sulṭān could no longer stay in that place, and without the Khānzamān's leave he came thence to Badāon, and afterwards travelled through the country, and went to the

[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* trans. Blochmann, i, 540. According to the *Āīn* he was learned in philosophy and theology. He came from Lāristān, and is hence called *Lārī*. He was the son of Maulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain, and studied under Maulānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shāfi'ī. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a *darbār* he placed himself before the Khān-i-A'ẓam, when the Mīr Tūzak told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4000 *bīghas* as *suyurghāl* in Sambhal, where he died.

[2] The celebrated Persian poet, who died in A.D. 1493-94.

Dakan. In the year in which the four kings of the Dakan formed a confederacy and after a great battle in a stricken field
238 conquered Vijayanagar,[1] and destroyed that famous idol-temple, which was a veritable mine of misbelief, Sulṭān Muḥammad was with their army and acquired great store of plunder, and returned, but no further information regarding him is to be had. It was, indeed, the height of discourtesy on his part to enter into a dispute with his betters and to refuse the request, so courteously made by a man like the Khānzamān, that he would change his poetical name.

In reply to the following opening couplet by Ghazālī,[2] viz.—

"Devotee, true knowledge of God lies not in the patched robe, the rosary, and the tooth-stick,[3]
Acquire mystical love, for these other things have nothing to do with the comprehension of God,"

he wrote,

"Though the dust of envy has settled on my rival's heart I have no fear,
This is clear to me, that the mirror of his heart is not clean."

[1] The great Hindu empire of the Carnatic. The four Kings were 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh I of Bījāpūr, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Gulkanda, and 'Alī Barīd Shāh of Bīdar. The allied armies of these kings met Sadāshivarāya, Rājā of Vijayanagar, and his brothers Timma and Venkatādri, on the field of Talikota on January 23, 1565, and, in one of the most decisive battles ever fought in India, utterly overthrew the Hindu empire of the south which had for two centuries withstood the attacks of the independent Muḥammadan Kings of the Dakan, first the Bahmanīs and afterwards the lesser dynasties of Bījāpūr, Gulkanda, Aḥmadnagar, Bīdar, and Berār. *Vide* 'Historic Landmarks of the Deccan,' by Major T. W. Haig, pp 129—132. Badāonī, like all Muḥammadan writers, styles Vijayanagar 'Bījānagar.'

[2] *Vide* p. 239, no. 1.

[3] A twig of a tree used as a substitute for a tooth-brush. It is about a span long, split at one end and chewed to render it softer. The twig is used only once and is then thrown away. The European manner of using one tooth-brush repeatedly until it is worn out is regarded with disgust in the east.

The following are other verses by him:—

"My love sits sometimes in my eyes and sometimes in my heart,
She rests nowhere, she must be bewitched."

"How can I liken thy eyebrow to the new moon, for I
Have seen the new moon in every hair of thy eyebrow?"

LV. Sulṭān.[1]

This is the poetical name of the Khānzamān. As the events of his life are well known, not only from this selection, but from every history of Hindūstān, any further account of him would be merely a repetition. He wrote these verses:—

"Slender as a hair is thy waist,
No wider than the end of that hair is thy mouth."

When he published abroad the ode which begins thus, many of 239
the poets of that province[2] wrote odes to compete with it. One began as follows:—

"I said, 'Thy mouth is no more substantial than an idea,'
She said, 'The idea that thou hast formed is correct.'

I composed the following:—

"Thy mouth is the fountain of Khiẓr,[3]
Thy tongue is a fish in that fountain."

In these days I prefer to repent sincerely of such poetry and versification, which I published freely in the days of my ignorance, but which now appear to me to be a vain accomplishment.

[1] *Vide* p. 182, n. 2, where a brief account of the career of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khānzamān, is given. He rendered most important services in the early years of Akbar's reign and Mr. Blochmann justly says, "Next to Bairām the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him." The disaffection displayed by him in his later days may perhaps be ascribed to mental derangement. His infatuation for Shāham Beg and its consequences seem to have been the beginning of this derangement, and his successes in the field seem to have converted it into what may be called *megalomania*

[2] Jaunpūr. [3] The guardian of the water of life.

The following verses are by the Khānzamān :—

"Cease, my heart, from weeping and wailing continually like a bell,
Make, my heart, to none complaint of the cruelty of thy love."

"O breeze, in the court of my love, in that language which thou knowest
Make my supplication before her, as thou canst."

"I have a charmer whose face is like the rose, and like hyacinths her hair,
Her rippling locks of hyacinth fall over rose-petals."

"My love, the darling of no other is like thee,
No other lover is distracted like me."

"O infidel boy,[1] we drink no cup at thy hands
We are drunk from another cup, with the wine of
'Am I not your Lord ?'"[2]

[1] مغبچه 'the magian boy,' a favourite simile for a handsome cupbearer.

[2] الست. The reference is to the *Qur'ān*, Sūrah vii, 168.

وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَىٰ أَنْفُسِهِمْ
أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَىٰ شَهِدْنَا

"And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, 'Am I not your Lord?' They answered, 'Yea: we do bear witness.'" The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that those men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor.

The Khānzamān's brother, Bahādur Khān,[1] also had some poetic genius, and wrote an ode which is reproduced below on 240 the theme of that ode of Mulla Āsafi's which begins :—

"The night of grief has much embittered my lot.
Where is the morning? For rust has settled on my mirror."

Bahādur Khān's ode.[2]

"The wanton, cruel charmer has taken a stone in his hand,
As though he would attack me, the weary one.
My moon-faced darling sits on the throne of beauty,
He is a king, seated on his throne.
Without thee, Bahādur, they will not cease from their wailing and their wine-bibbing
For they have taken from thee the flute of grief."

In accordance with the saying, "the words of kings are the kings of words" this appears to be a sufficiency of the poetry of these two [3]

[1] Muḥammad Sa'īd Shaibānī, Bahādur Khān, younger brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khānzamān. After Humāyūn's return from Persia he planned a rebellion, which failed He was pardoned by Akbar and received Multān as *jāgīr*. He assisted in the conquest of Mālwa, and was subsequently governor of Iṭāwa. He took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother. After his capture Shāhbāz Khān Kambū killed him by Akbar's order.

[2] The text here has, wrongly, مطلع ('opening couplet'). The whole ode is quoted. The MSS wrongly divide the couplets of the ode, as though they were isolated couplets from odes.

[3] It is not easy to decide here whether Badāonī is serious or ironical in his quotation of the proverb. It is evident that he had some admiration for the Khānzamān, as he has blamed Sulṭān of Saplak for not acceding to the Khānzamān's most unreasonable request. On the other hand Bahādur Khān's ode appears to refer to Shāham Beg,—'my King' as the Khānzamān used to call him.—and it is possible that the proverb is a sly reference to the title given by the Khānzamān to Shāham Beg in his infatuation. Badāonī repented of his own serious lapse from morality, and became one of the 'unco'guid,' and it is, perhaps in virtuous indignation that he says that he has had enough of the poetry of "these two" *scil*, the Khanzamān and his brother.

LVI. Sairī.[1]

He was a *qāẓī*[2] and a theologian of cheerful disposition. He came to India and died, having acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage of Islam. In prosody, and rhyming, and the composition of enigmas he was unrivalled. The following quatrain is by him:—

"Sairī, take up thy abode in the sanctuary of the soul and the heart,
Withdraw thy sight from this form compounded of water and earth;
Everything, save the knowledge of God, is naught,
Forsake everything, and acquire this knowledge."

These verses also are by him:—

"She does not close that narcissus-like eye on account of ophthalmia,
241 She shuts the door of mercy on grief-stricken lovers."

"Preacher, miscall me not for my devotion to my idol,
For God's sake torment me no more."

LVII. Sipihrī.[3]

He is Mīrzā Beg, brother's son to Khwāja Amīnā,[4] who was known as Khwāja Jahān. He has written a *dīvān*. The following verses are the fruit of his brilliant intellect:—

[1] Sairī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] A judge, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic.

[3] He is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann says (trans *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 424) that his *takhallus* was Shahrī. This is a mistake, as the third couplet given below shows.

[4] Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt, Khwāja Jahān, an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligraphist. He accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia and, on Humāyūn's return, was made *bakhshī* to Akbar. He received his title, and the rank of commander of one thousand, on Akbar's accession. He was accused of want of loyalty during the rebellion of the Khānzamān, and was dismissed to Makkah. On his return he was pardoned He died near Lakhnau in Nov. 1574 from the result of an accident which occurred to him when he was convalescent from sickness.

"Soften with a smile the poison of thy angry eye,
As bitter almonds are made sweet by the addition of salt."

"My wandering heart passed by the street of calamity,
It is strange that my heart wandered without thee.[1] Its action was strange."

"Sipihrī, take, like the tulip, a cup in the king's round,[2]
Now that the heart has blossomed and the rose-garden smells sweet."
"The king of exalted rank, Humāyūn, the dust of whose door
In dignity far excels the heavens."

LVIII. Sayyāfī.[3]

He was a servant of Bairam Khān,[4] and the Khān sent by his hand a sum of seven thousand rupees as an offering to the shrine of his holiness the Imām Riẓā[5] (on whom be blessings and praise!). Having spent all this money he was there called to account by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) was released from torture (by death). These couplets are by him:—

"When my sallow countenance appeared in the mirror,
The mirror, from the reflection of my face, became an autumn leaf."

"My narrow breast, in which lodges grief for the absence of my love,
May yet be so situated that joy will leave in it no room for my soul."

[1] بي تو as in MS. (A). The text has مي تو which does not make sense. This couplet and the one preceding it are transposed in both MSS.

[2] دور 'a round of the wine-cup.'

[3] He is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*. MSS. (A) and (B) give his *takhallus* as Siyāqī.

[4] Khānkhānān. Tutor to Akbar and regent of the empire during his minority. He was a Shī'ah.

[5] The eighth *imām* of the Shī'ahs, whose shrine is at Mashhad.

LIX. Sahmī.[1]

He chose his poetical name from the profession of his father, who was an arrow-maker. He grew up in the service of Mīrzā Azīz Kūka[2] and, since he has been addicted to poetry from the age of ten, he has become thoroughly versed in it, and is famous throughout the world. In reply to that ode by Ummīdī the mystic,[3] which begins,

"Thou art the king of the kingdom of beauty,
We are beggars enjoying the spectacle,"

he was one day reciting an ode of his own before the court. When he came to the hemistich,

"I am a pure *Sunnī* and come from Bukhārā,"

Lashkar Khān,[4] the paymaster in chief, who was a Khurāsānī suspected of heresy, though he did not openly profess it,[5] said, "Then, Mullā, there is also such a thing as an impure *Sunnī*?" Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka said on the spur of the moment, "You, for example."

Qasim Arsalān has the following quatrain referring to Sahmī.

[1] Sahmī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Khān-i-A'ẓam, son of Ataga Khān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar.

[3] Or, 'of Rai.'

[4] Muḥammad Ḥusain of Khurāsān. He was for some time Mīr Bakhshī and Mīr 'Arẓ but was dismissed. One day he came drunk to court and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse and imprisoned him. He was subsequently released and attached to the Mun'im Khān's corps in Bengal In the battle of Takaroī (March 3, 1575) he was severely wounded. His wounds began to heal but he did not take sufficient care of his health and died, a few days after the battle in Uṛīsa. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 407.

[5] Wherever Shī'ahs are in the minority they practise, if necessary, *taqiyyah*, (تقیّه 'fear,' 'caution,' or 'pious subterfuge'), i.e. they act as though they were Sunnīs. A Shī'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety require it. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 338, n. 2. Badāonī relates with evident glee this snub administered to a suspected Shī'ah.

"Sahmī, Ṭarīqi,[1] and Farīdūn[2] are thieves,
They are thieves like the cat, the jackal, and the monkey,
Take care not to recite your poetry before them
For these two or three poets will steal the lines from you."

The following are some lines from Sahmī's ode written in answer to one by[3] Ummīdī :—

"The thought of thy mole has ever had its place in my heart, 243
I did not mention this scar to thee, but it remained on my heart.
I sowed the seed of hope in the field of love,
But obtained no crop save a crop of despair,
When thou sawest in the mirror the reflection of thy cruel face
The mirror melted before it from shame."

"This is not the new moon that has risen to the highest point of the heavens,
It is a sword hung in the air for the purpose of slaying me."[4]

"The new moon of the 'Īd was likened to the arch of her eyebrow.

[1] The text has 'Ẓarīfī.' I follow MS. (A) as Qāsim Arsalān was evidently speaking of poets at Akbar's court. *Vide infra*, no. LXXIX.

[2] No Farīdūn is mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*, or the *Ṭabaqāt*, or in this work. Qāsim Arsalān may have been referring to Farīdūn Khān, maternal uncle to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, or more probably to Mīrzā Farīdūn Barlās, a commander of five hundred, son of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās Mīrzā Farīdūn Barlās served in Sind and, in A.D. 592-93, accompanied Jānī Beg to court. Under Jahāngīr he was rapidly promoted and held, in the eighth year, a command of two thousand, when he served under Sulṭān Khurram against Rānā Amar Singh. He died during the expedition. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 342, 478 and *Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 125, 133.

[3] Not the ode quoted above.

[4] "A sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow."

If the simile were just there would be ever another[1] new moon at her side."

"Her mouth is like the end of a hair in its delicate proportions, but see
How the sword of her tongue in speech splits the hair."[2]

---

244 "Thou camest before me in order to vex my wounded heart,
What evil have I done that thou hast thus come before me?"

LX. Saqqā.[3]

His name was Bahrām. He was a devotee who believed that he had attained the stage of annihilation.[4] He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Ḥājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī (may his tomb be hallowed!), and was in some measure mysteriously attracted towards God.[5] He constantly traversed the streets of Āgra with a few pupils, giving water to the people of God, and while he was thus employed his tongue would be uttering refreshing verses. One of the sons of his religious guide came to India, and to him he gave all that he possessed, and would have given more, had it been possible, and he then set forth on foot,

1 i.e. the poet himself, who is wasted by love to the similitude of a new moon.

2 The Persian metaphor is the same as the English. The *double entendre* refers to the opening of the mouth in speech.

3 This poet's name is not given in the text, nor in the MSS., though the first sentence is so framed as to lead us to expect a mention of his name. I have supplied it from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. In the *Āīn* (trans. Blochmann, i, 581, and n. 1) he is thus described, "Darvīsh Bahrām. He is of Turkish extraction, and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khiẓr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier." The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āẕarbāījān, Irvān, Ṭihrān. Fārs and Nīshābūr. Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān in Bengal.

4 This *Ṣūfī*-istic term indicates selflessness, or the annihilation of self, the will being entirely delivered over into God's keeping.

5 خالي از جذبهٔ بیون. For the technical meaning of the words جذب and جذبهٔ *vide* p. 7, n. 4.

alone and destitute, for Sarandīb,[1] and on the way to Ceylon the torrent of annihilation swept away the chattels of his existence, and in that infidel land some person, guided by a sign from the prophet (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) appeared, no one knew whence, and arranged for the obsequies of Saqqā, (may God water his grave!).

He collected several *dīvāns* of his own poems, and whenever he was overcome by religious ecstasy he would wash the ink from the pages of the *dīvāns*, one by one, but the remains of his poems form a large *dīvān*. The following verses are part of the outcome of his clear and sparkling intellect: –

"I am thrown into bewilderment each time I regard the mole on His cheek,
I distractedly encompass that spot like the leg of a pair of compasses tracing a circle around its centre.
I, distraught as I am, have withdrawn my gaze from fair creatures for this reason
That I have in the nest of my heart a Friend of my soul like Thee."

"I have broken the foundations of austerity that I might see what would come to pass,
I have sat in the market-place of ignominy, that I might see what would come to pass."

"I see my poor mad heart distracted with the love of Thy face,
I see it encompassed on every side with the chains of Thy locks."

"This day from weeping am I plunged in my heart's blood,
Ah, heart! cause not my head to burst this day with weeping."

1 Ceylon. The word used immediately afterwards is سیلان (*Sīlān*), referring to the same place. The latter word is used in order to pun with سیل (*sail*) 'a flood,' 'a torrent.' The account of Saqqā's obsequies may

"The love of that beloved one with garments like the rose
has again grasped me by the collar,
Ah, now, at last, it has rent my garment from collar to
skirt." [1]

LXI. Sipāhī.[2]

245 He was the grandson of the famous Khwāja Kalān Beg.[3] This quatrain is by him.

"Alas, that the season of the rose has passed so quickly,
Alas, that it has passed in the twinkling of an eye!
Without thy eyes and the down on thy cheek the violet
and the hyacinth
Pass their days in blindness and in mourning." [4]

He died in Āgra in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71).

LXII. Sarmadī of Iṣfahān.[5]

His name is Sharīf. He was for some time a roster-keeper, and now holds some appointment in Bengal under Sharīf Āmalī.

be accepted with a grain of salt. As Saqqā's tomb is in Bardwān he probably died in Bengal on his way to Ceylon.

[1] These verses are all mystical. The Beloved, in each case, is God, who is spoken of, after the fashion of the Ṣūfīs, as though He were a human object of love. The couplet beginning "I have broken the foundations" probably means that the poet, having apprehended the esoteric meaning of divine love, has ceased to follow the ceremonial observances of Islām, and has thus rendered himself obnoxious to the formally pious.

[2] This poet is mentioned neither in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] The Governor of Qandahār under Mīrzā Kāmrān. The Shāh of Persia captured Qandahār from him.

[4] كبودي 'blue-ness,' applicable both to the violet and to the hyacinth. Blue, like black, is the colour of mourning It may, perhaps, also signify blindness, with reference to the bluish film which forms in cases of cataract

[5] Muḥammad Sharīf, Sarmadī, was a commander of two hundred. He was sent to Bengal with Sharīf Āmalī in A.D. 1591-92 and in the following year was fighting in Uṛīsā against Rām Candra, Rājā of Khurda. He is said to have died in the Dakan. In the *Āīn* (i. 607) he is thus described, "His name is Sharīf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic." The *Ṭabaqāt* has, 'Sharīf-i-Sarmadī is an

Iṣfahānī, and is one of the servants of this court.' He was apparently a Shī'ah, for Badāonī (text, ii, 335) thus abuses him, 'Sharīf Sarmadī,' the roster-keeper, regarding whom somebody has said:—

"There are two roster-keepers, both of them vile,
One is anything but previous and the other anything but noble."

The two epithets in the second hemistich refer to the names of the two men, the second referring to Sharīf.

He at first assumed Faiẓī as his poetical name, but when Shaikh Faiẓī submitted a complaint to the emperor on the subject he abandoned his pretensions, and chose Sarmadī as his poetical name. He has some poetic genius. The following verses are by him.

"Since the sword of the coquetries of that haughty
beauty has been raised,
Spectators from afar have stretched out a hundred necks
to receive its blow." ———

"When thou camest to my house with the fumes of wine
in thy head and roses under thy arm
The very dust of this house of grief put forth blossoms
to see the sight of thy arrival."

———

"Since in contempt I set my foot upon both worlds
Neither joy nor sorrow has had any power over my
heart."

LXIII. Sāqī of the Jazā'ir.[1]

He is an 'Arab, and his father Shaikh Ibrāhīm was a learned theologian whom the Shī ahs, after their mode of belief, regarded as an infallible religious guide. He settled in Mashhad, and Sāqī was born there. Sāqī has acquired some learning, and is 246 of a cheerful disposition and eloquent. He came from the Dakan to Hindūstān, and is now in Bengal. The following verses are by him:—

[1] Thus described in the *Āīn* (i. 593), 'He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazā'ir. He has acquired some knowledge.' الجزائر (*Al-jazā'ir*) 'the islands' is the Arabic form of Algiers, but the term here probably refers to the islands of the Persian Gulf.

"From my soul, as I weep, arises a sigh of grief,
Even as smoke arises when water is thrown on fire."

"I grieve not for the cruelty of my love
Lest my grief should become a cause of joy to others."

"When she passes by me in wrath the tears flow from my eyes,
"Just as tears flow from eyes dazzled by the sun's rays."

"My heart flutters lest thou should have come to it in thy sleep.
Whenever there comes before me any person heavy with sleep."

An ode.

"In my desire for thy eyelashes each breath loads my heart with blood,
In order that it may bring me once more into thy hand.
My heart obtained a glance from thee which made my soul thy prey. Aye,
An arrow which has struck the mark steadies the aim.
My heart is, as ever, ardent with love; thou art, as ever, indifferent.
Sāqī, describe to her thy pain, before she publishes it abroad."

LXIV. Sayyidī.[1]

His name is Sayyid Shāh, and he has already been mentioned. He comes of the Sayyids of the Garmsīr[2] who settled in Kālpī.

1 Sayyidī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ā'īn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The only person of his name previously mentioned in this work is Sayyid Shāh Mīr of Sāmāna. *Vide* p 174.

2 *Garmsīr*, a hot, low-lying tract. There are two districts to which the name is given, viz :—the north-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, and the valley of the Halmund in Sīstān and south-western Afghānistān. The latter is probably intended.

He is of a cheerful disposition and is pleasant in conversation and is to some extent imbued with religious mysticism. He is the disciple of Shaikh Salīm Cishti. He was for some time in the emperor's service, but it was his fate to leave it, and he has 247
since spent his time in the service of various *Amīrs*. He is now in Kābul with Qilij Muḥammad Khān. I quote the following few couplets of his :—

"I am in the first pangs of love, and my heart is disquieted,
Like a child who trembles as he wakes from sleep."

"Since that stately cypress-like beauty made for herself a necklace of roses,
I envy the roses, and the roses envy her shift."

"From my strayed heart the breeze obtained no news of what had happened,
Although thy two locks spread their tresses to the wind."[1]

"Reverence forbids me to set foot in my house,
Since the whole house has been filled with the effulgence of thy face."

"I utter not a word of the secrets of thy favours and thy chiding,
No sound arises from him who has been killed in submission to thee."

"Although there remains to nobody in the reign of the king of the world
Anything but a draught of water and a patched garment,
Yet thanks a hundredfold are due to God that poverty has become universal,
That there remains no envy among the people."

1 "Although thy locks were careless in keeping their secret my heart did not betray it."

"I wrote an ode in thy honour, lord of generosity,
Which was a faithful index of the volume of thy virtues and perfections,
But the generosity which thou showedst to me in return for it was so slight,
That my hope of benefiting by thy wealth was destroyed.
Thy generosity was not an equivalent for my poetry,
248 Keep, then, thy generosity, and return my poetry."

"God forbid that I should have a heart that never experiences pain,
An arrow is better in the breast than a dead heart."

LXV. Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī.[1]

He has been mentioned in the historical record of the reign. He was a man of cheerful disposition and had good taste in poetry. I reproduce these few couplets of his :—

[1] Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī was one of Humāyūn's *Amīrs* and did valuable service on Humāyūn's return from Persia. He was of the family of the Khwājas of Kāshghar. He is not mentioned among Akbar's *Amīrs* either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. For an account of his murder of Shīr 'Alī Beg *vide* vol. ii (text pp. 9 *et seq.*) Early in Akbar's reign he was imprisoned in Lāhor but escaped, and, having persuaded Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar to join him in a futile invasion of Kashmīr, escaped to Dīpālpūr. Here he was discovered and was sent to Gujarāt *en route* to Makkah. In Gujarāt he committed another murder and fled and joined the Khānzamān, who delivered him to Akbar. He was then imprisoned in Biyāna but was released by Bairām Khān when the latter fled from court. He left Bairām and joined Akbar, but having treated the emperor with disrespect, was sent off to Makkah. On his return he rebelled and then fled to Narnaul and thence to Kābul. Here he persuaded Cūcak Begum, mother of Muḥammad Ḥākīm Mīrzā to give him her daughter in marriage. He next, in the course of an attempt to seize on the supreme power in Kābul, murdered Cūcak Begam. Muḥammad Qāsim Kūhbar, Muḥammad Ḥākīm Mīrzā's *vakīl*, then fled to Sulaimān Mīrzā in Badakhshān, who marched to attack Shāh 'Abū-'l-Ma'ālī. Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā left Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī and joined Sulaimān. Sulaimān eventually captured Shāh Abū-'l-Ma'ālī and sent him to Muḥammad Ḥakīm, by whose orders he was strangled. (May 10, 1563).

"My soul, to keep company with strangers is not good,
It is not good to associate with every beloved one and to leave one friendless.
It is pleasant sometimes to torment a lover, but kindness is also pleasant sometimes,
To sit ever on the throne of scorn is not good.
Sit in the corner of separation, happy in the hope of re-union.
To despair of the good fortune of seeing[1] the beloved one again is not good."

"Beloved, I have been alone, and separated from thee.
I have been, for a purpose, a prisoner in the bonds of separation.
In every place have I read the story of thy love so often
That on this account I am become a by-word in the world."

"My heart suffers grief of a thousand descriptions on her account,
If my grief kills me not what other boon shall I obtain from her?

LXVI. Shīrī.[2]

He comes from a village called Kokūwāl[3] in the Panjāb. 249 His father belongs to the Mājīs,[4] a large and well-known tribe, and he used to say that his mother was a Sayyid by race. Although he is not of noble blood he has a disposition sufficiently noble, and leads a well-regulated life. He studied under his father, Maulānā Yaḥyā, who wrote an ode with this opening couplet :—

[1] دیدار As in the MSS. The text has بیقار which is not so good a reading.

[2] He is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 610). 'He belongs to a Panjābī family of Shaikhs. Under the patronage of his majesty he has become a good poet.' He translated the *Harībans* into Persian. He seems to have been orthodox, according to Badāonī's views (text ii, 208, 209).

[3] Or Khokhowāl, in the Bārī Dūāb.

[4] I have not been able to obtain any information regarding this tribe.

"From the rain of Thy favour, O merciful Providence,
There remain, from each drop, in the heart of the wise a hundred rivers of precious secrets."

Shīrī had great facility in writing verse, and once boasted that he had composed thirty odes in one night, but God knows whether this was true or not. One day he was reading in an assembly a fragment from his *dīvān*, which contained this hemistich,

"I have thrown four volumes of verse into the river Cināb."

The late Maulānā Ilāhdād of Amroha [1] at once said, "What if you had thrown this spill [2] of paper after them?"

Shīrī possessed, to some extent, unworldliness, sympathy, and the ascetic spirit, and has written verses in this vein, for example,

"I am lord of the table of poverty, and never
Will my spirit allow me to beg from my friend.
To borrow from Hindūs at four hundred per cent
Is better than receiving gifts from these Musalmāns."

No poet among his contemporaries has written better pessimistic poetry [3] than he has. This is a specimen of such verses:—

"O, ye dead, rejoice that ye are at rest,
For pleasure has departed from our midst!
O, ye who are to follow us, read the *fātiḥa* [4]
To offer thanks that you were not living in our time!"

In the composition of elaborate odes and epigrams he certainly excelled all the poets of his time, and silenced them by making such felicity of diction as they possessed seem as naught beside
250 his own. The following fragment justly describes his abilities in this line.

"If thou ask me of the poetry of Shīrī
I would say, if justice is to be done,

1 *Vide* c. ii, no. LXX.

2 پتیل 'A wick for a lamp,' 'a linstock.' For فتیل.

3 شکویات (*shakaviyyāt*), lit. 'complaints,' *scil* against fate.

4 The first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, often read as an act of thanksgiving.

That not all the verses that poets write pass as current coin
Just as nobody's wine is all clear.
Shīrī, praise not the base,
For praise befits the noble.[1]
Shīrī's ghazals and *maṣnavīs* are mere rubbish,
And this is intended neither for praise nor for blame,
But the fame of his odes and epigrams
Has reached the uttermost parts of the earth." [2]

The few verses quoted below are the production of his brilliant wit:—

"My heart is so enamoured of the beauty of Salmā [3]
That it wanders abroad with her heart in search of consolation.
The remembrance of another by that heart in which thou dwellest
Is equivalent to the worship of 'Uzzā [4] in the *Ka'bah*.[5]
The beloved has so entirely surrounded herself with an array of coquetry,
That even desire found no way of access to her in that dense crowd."

"Bid the caravan move faster, that Egypt
May no longer send back to us the cries of Zulaikhā [6] grieving for our absence."

1 The verse may have two meanings, one, that which is apparent, and the other, that Shīrī was not of sufficiently noble birth to be able to appreciate the qualities that call for such praise as is contained in oriental laudatory verse.

2 Lit. 'from Caucasus to Caucasus.' This last couplet is in both MSS, but has been carelessly omitted from the text.

3 A woman celebrated for her beauty, hence 'a beloved mistress.'

4 An idol worshipped by the 'Arabs before the days of Muḥammad.

5 The temple of Makkah.

6 The wife of Potiphar, who loved Joseph. For the Muḥammadan version of the story *vide Qur'ān* xii.

"I have bound my letter to thee with a white thread to signify
That in my separation from thee no blood remains in the veins of my soul."

"Deprived of thy face my existence is a sea of pain and grief,
My ribs are the waves of that sea."

"She comes to slay me, with the sword of cruelty in her hand.
Whatever men relate of injustice is committed by that cruel one.

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251 "In the abundance of its hopefulness the heart believes that a messenger comes from Shīrīn
To the unfortunate Farhād[1] even though it be Parvīz himself that comes."

"Wherefore, O tear, dost thou traverse my eye
When I bid farewell to my dear?
Where wert thou then, that thou now obscurest my sight?
O Zephyr, my beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire,
I am thy devoted servant, but thou wanderest overmuch in her street."

The following few couplets are from an ode of question and answer[2] by him:—

"I said, 'O heart, what is the cause of this change in the condition of the world?'
My heart replied, 'Silence, the brain of heaven is thrown into confusion.'

[1] Farhād was the lover of Shīrīn, Parvīz being her husband.

[2] A very common variety of the *ghazal* or *qasīdah*, the form being a conservation between the poet and his heart, or his beloved.

I said, 'From the well of hope the water of desire is not to be had.'
It replied 'The well-rope of hope was not sufficiently long.'[1]
I said, 'If there is any rest anywhere, tell me where it may be found?
It replied, 'In sleep, they say, the sleep of death.'
I said, 'Can anyone spend his life in joy?'
It said 'This is mere speech, which never comes to pass.'
I said 'Why is the brow of the beloved one furrowed with a frown?'
It said, 'It is ill to contend with one ill-disposed.'
I said, 'The mirror of wisdom is covered with rust.'
It said, 'Where is the burnisher, generosity, that it may once more receive a polish?'
I said, 'The eloquent are the ornament of the assembly.' 252
It said, 'Thou canst not say these things to the wealthy.'
I said, 'Alas for these men, who are far from the truth!'
It said, 'Let justice be done on this deceitful race, which follows injustice.'
I said, 'I have a detailed complaint to make against my fate.'
It said, 'To the King thou must relate it succinctly.'
I said, 'To Akbar, who resembles Jamshīd in glory and Sulaimān in wisdom?'
It said, 'Yes, the King of high destiny who in dignity resembles the sun.'
I said, 'That personality which is second only to the prophet in honour?'
It said, 'Yes to that creature of God who surpasses all in beneficence.'
I said, 'By race and descent the crown and the throne are justly his.'
It said, 'His favour and liberalit are the protection of his kingdom and his people.'

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[1] i.e. the lover had not subsisted sufficiently long on hope

The following two couplets are from an ode which he wrote on the utility of the elephant:—

"How sweetly pass those nights in which, praying incessantly for the safety of the King's elephant,
I read the chapter night'[1] by the margin of the river Biyāh;
On the fair ones of Kūkūwāl with the gait of an elephant[2] and the eyes of gazelles
I think every moment, and heave sighs from my bosom."

The following is the opening couplet of an ode in which he enumerates six things as being necessary.

"O thou who holdest the world in the grasp of thy wisdom by the force of thy sword and thy arrow,
Crowned monarch of the throne and of fate,
Who conquerest the world by means of thy elephants and thy horses,
Thy crown and thy throne, thy sword and thy arrow are the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the meteor,
A hundred writers[3] would be unable to reckon the number of thy elephants and horses."

As his *dīvān* is exceedingly well known I refrain from quoting any more of his verses.

At the time when he was employed on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*[4] he said, "These prolix fables resemble the dreams of a man in a fever."

[1] The 92nd chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

[2] The gait of an elephant is regarded as peculiarly graceful.

[3] دبیر (*dabīr*). Having regard to the similes in the preceding hemistich the reference is probably to the planet Mercury, called دبیر فلک (*dabīr-i-falak*) 'the writer of the sky.'

[4] The only translation with which Shīrī is credited in the *Āīn* is that of the *Haribans*. The *Mahābhārata* was translated under the superintendence of Badāonī and Shīrī was one of his collaborators. *Vide Āīn*, trans. Blochmann, i, 104, 106. Badāonī, text ii, 319.

Mullā Shīrī's death occurred in the hilly country of the Yūsufzais, in the year H. 994 (A.D. 1586) as has been already mentioned.[1]

LXVII. Shakībī of Iṣfahān.[2] 253

He came recently to India, and is in the service of the Khānkhānān, son of Bairam Khān.[3] He has good taste. The following verses are by him:[4]—

"My nightly lamentations are still of some effect.
My broken bow has still an arrow which will reach its mark.
My heart is provoked by her absence; show me some mercy, O fate!
For my hand is hampered in combat by my having a mountain's weight tied to my waist.
Scatter roses on the skirts of my friends, for he who is wounded to the heart by her absence
Has, on the point of each eyelash, a hundred drops[5] from his liver."

"O God! Send me from heaven a market for my wares,
I am selling my heart for a sight of my love; send me a buyer."

"My wares are anguish, not joy; why dost thou ask the price?
Well I know that thou wilt not buy, and I will not sell."

[1] Vol. ii, text 350. This was the battle in the course of which Rāja Bīr Bar, in Badāonī's words, "joined the dogs of hell."

[2] Not mentioned in the *Āīn*. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described: "Mullā Shakībī of Iṣfahān has acquired many accomplishments and has many praiseworthy qualities. He writes elegant verse. He is in the service of the Khānkhānān Mīrzā Khān, son of Muḥammad Bairam Khān."

[3] Mīrzā 'Abdur-Raḥīm, son of Bairam Khān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 334.

[4] MS. (A) has چکیدهٔ خامهٔ معنی زای اوست 'were distilled from his significant pen.'

[5] Literally, 'pieces.'

"When will the deliciousness of love's grief be forgotten?
I have sprinkled that salt on the marrow of my bones."

LXVIII. Shujā'ī.

He is Saif-ul Mulūk the physician.[1] One day when he came to treat a sick man Mir Sayyid Muhammad the cloth-weaver, who has the poetical name of Fikrī,[2] and is well known under the nickname of *Mīr Rubā'ī*, was employed with the patient. The Mir said of Shujā'ī,

"A sharp sword[3] is his worship, Maulavī Saif-ul-Mulūk,
Who has introduced a new fashion in the practice of medicine.
254 Yesterday Death said, when he had come to take the life of a sick man,
'Everywhere I go *he* has been called in first.'"

The Maulānā (Saif-ul-Mulūk) composed the following 'increased' quatrain[4] on the incontinence and gluttony of the Mir (Sayyid Muḥammad),

"O Mīr, how can five gallons[5] of thick broth be contained—
in one debilitated stomach?
Si autem contineantur, quomodo continebit se penis tuus—ab intromissione primâ?[6]

[1] *Vide* c. iii. no. II, and *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 543, where he is called Ḥakīm Saīf-ul-*Mulk*, Lang ('the lame').

[2] *Vide* no. CII.

[3] The word سيف (*saif*) means 'a sword.' The title Saif-ul-Mulūk means 'the sword of kings.' Saif-ul-Mulk means 'the sword of the kingdom.' As has been said, Saif-ul-Mulūk was nicknamed *Saif-ul-Ḥukamā*, 'the sword of the physicians.'

[4] A quatrain in which, after the metre and rhyme of each verse have been completed, an addition is made to it, prolonging the metre and completing the sense. In the example given I have placed a dash between the completed verse and the addition. In the text the words مستزاد رباعي have been carelessly printed as though they were the heading of the account of a fresh poet.

[5] Lit دو من (*dū man*) 'two maunds.'

[6] I am not sure of the meaning of this line, as the poet uses a word which I believe him to have coined. I believe, however, that my translation is, at least, approximately correct.

A tablet which will not contain a quatrain—written in the smallest writing[1]
Will surely not contain a long ode—written in large text.[2]"

The following verses are the production of the Maulānā's almost magical genius:—

"Distracted with love, the hair of thy head is dishevelled,
May I become a sacrifice for thy head, for thou hast traffic with lovers."

"A hair has fallen from my love's locks across her cheek,
Or is it perchance the thread of my soul lying across the fire?"

"Better that I should be buried in the earth than that, for the sake of base desires,
I should walk the earth to seek favours from worldlings."

LXIX. Shu'ūrī of Turbat.[3]

He is a student and practises book-keeping. The following verses are by him:—

"O thou who, for fear of being separated from thy love, art in the agony of death,
I give thee good news, for she, whose breath is like that of Masīḥ,[4] is coming, nay, is come."

"The desire of seeing thee brings me, each moment, from my house;
"Desire has seized me by the collar, and draws me to thee.

[1] خط غبار (*Khaṭṭ-i-Ghubār*). The smallest kind of handwriting, 'like dust.'

[2] ثلث (*sulṣ*) a large kind of *naskhī* handwriting used in engrossing.

[3] Shu'ūrī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Turbat is either Turbat-i-Ḥaidarī or Turbat-i-Shaikh-i-Jām, both in Khurāsān.

[4] The Messiah. Musalmans attribute the life-giving miracles of our Lord to a miraculous quality in His breath, and this simile is a favourite with poets.

255 My great Preserver[1] is harsh to me in a thousand ways,
But how shall He bring the poor Shu'ūrī into thy presence?"

"Love has entered, and seized the vein of my soul,
The bewilderment of seeing thee has made my tongue mute."

"Her wavy lock has fallen on her moon-like cheek,
A horse-shoe has been put into the fire for thee."[2]

"Thou didst promise to sow the seed of faithfulness.
What is faithfulness? To keep one's promises."

"The double chin[3] of that beauty with eyebrows like the new moon
Is the reflection of the new moon in clear water."

"Nay, for when the sun rose in the heavens,
The moon appeared beneath his rays."

LXX. Mullā Ṣādiq Ḥalwā'ī[4] of Samarqand.

He is too honourable to be placed among the poets and reckoned along with the poets of this age. So to place him is a disgrace

[1] The verse is susceptible of the translation 'my favoured rival, etc.' but the epithet معظم (*mu'aẓẓam*) appears to me to indicate the Deity. The ambiguity is possibly designed.

[2] 'Thy heart, like her hair, will be fixed on her cheek, and will be heated like a horse-shoe, in the fire of love.'

[3] Fat is regarded as a beauty in the East.

[4] The text has, wrongly, حلوائي (*Ḥalwānī*). Both MSS. have the correct reading. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, "Mullā Ṣādiq Halwā'ī of Samarqand came from Makkah and paid his respects at court. He was for some years in Hindūstān and then went to Kābul, where he was engaged in teaching, and taught Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He is now in Samarqand." *Vide* also *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 541 where he is called Maulānā Ṣādiq.

to him and a disgrace to me. He is mentioned as a *Mullā* of good understanding, of pleasant speech, and full of apposite learning. After many vicissitudes he came to India, and having devoted his attention to the successions[1] of self-styled saints in this country, set most of them by the ears. By the aid of the divine guidance he was led to make a pilgrimage to the sacred house of God,[2] and the other holy places,[3] and in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) he returned and set out for his native country, but Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[4] desired him to sojourn in Kābul and began to study under him. At present he is living, honoured and respected, in 256
Transoxiana, where he is engaged in teaching and lecturing. He has good taste in poetry and a sublime imagination. He has written a *dīvān*. These verses are by him:—

"My heart is lost and nobody can tell me whither it is gone,
Thy ruby lip is laughing, my suspicion rests on thee."

"There is no resting place but thy door for my wandering heart;
I said I would stray from thy door, but my heart would not depart."

"Thou hast returned like the sun from thy journey, O thou with a face like the moon!
Thou wentest away beautiful, and hast returned most beautiful."

"O thou with a face like the rose, I desire not to see thee like the snuff of a candle, in every assembly,
I desire not to see thee inclining, like the rose-branch, in every direction."

[1] The text seems to be corrupt here, but meaning is tolerably clear. The word سلسله (*silsila*) denotes a regular line of saints by spiritual succession, and, hence, a religious order.

[2] The *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

[3] Madīnah, and other places of pilgrimage in the Hijaz

[4] Akbar's brother, born A.D. 1554, died A.D. 1585.

"My love's mind is like a mirror set before me,
In it I see reflected whatever is in my heart"

"The pain of love, which I kept concealed from thee in my heart and soul,
Has become manifest from my face, howmuchsoever I tried to conceal it."

"That stately cypress[1] which I cherished in those eyes of hers which shed tears of blood
I now see in my own eyes, with all its rubbish and splinters."

"Come, my tears, what do you hope to gain by thus raining down from my moist eyes."
You have disgraced me before the world: what more do you require?"

LXXI. Ṣabūḥī.[2]

He was of the Caghatāi tribe. He lived a very unrestrained and licentious life. He had great skill in poetry. The following verses are by him:—

257 "That my heart loves thee thou alone knowest.
I have told this secret to none, God knows."

[1] i.e the reflection of the poet's own figure

[2] He is thus described in the *Ain-i Akbā.i* (i, 582;: "He was born in Kābul Once he slept in the bedroom of Amir Khusrav, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following:—

'When I am far from thee my tears turn gradually into an ocean.
Come and see, enter the ship of my eye and make a trip on the ocean'

In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called 'Mullā Ṣabūḥī.' The only fact there mentioned of him is that he was for a long time about the court. His name does not appear to be known

"Come unveiled into my poor house
For there is none in my house save grief for thee."

"Thou hast not been a lover, thou hast not suffered the grief of separation;
How should one unfold to thee the tale of separation's woe?"

"Thou didst sit nowhere, but the jealous watcher sat with thee,
Save when thou didst take thy place in my heart and he remained without."

"Last night to save my life, I took refuge from the hardships of separation in thoughts of thee.
Thy image remained in my soul, else had I died."

"Alas, that I am so forgotten by that cruel one
That her eye has never fallen upon me, even in thought!"

"With thy image in my mind's eye I say, 'This is reunion.'
I earnestly desire reunion with thee, all I have is imagination."

"Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart is weary with weeping
Who will now inform her of my condition?
What need is there that I should explain my condition to her?
For my heart, if it truly burns, will have some effect on her."

"Long eyelashes cause calamities
And when the white of the lover's eye becomes red they shed blood."

His death occurred at Āgra in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) or H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65) and the words 'Ṣabūḥī the wine-bibber'[1] give the date of it.

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LXXII. Ṣāliḥī.[2]

He came from Hirāt and has good taste both in poetry and in prose composition. He is somewhat studious and writes a good hand. He was for some time employed as one of the secretaries, and then returned to his native land. He wrote the following couplet:—

"In the night of separation from thee, in my eye-sockets
The blood from my liver was so congealed that sleep could not enter them."

This was written in imitation of the following couplet of Amīr Khusrav's:—

"I fenced my eyes in with a thorn-hedge of eyelashes
In order that neither thy image might leave them nor sleep find entrance."

The following are other verses by Ṣāliḥī:—

"With my two eyes, red with weeping during the grief of the night of separation,
What shall I do, for these will be the roses of the day when we meet?
I have neither desire nor strength to associate with the rose, that I should roam in the rose-garden,
And the scent of the roses suggests to me only unfaithfulness[3]
Like the dogs I have taken my place at thy threshold
In order that my rival may not enter in the guise of a beggar.[4]"

[1] صبوحی میخوار (*Ṣabūḥī-i-maikẖwār*). The letters give the date 973. The word *Ṣabūḥ* or *Ṣabūḥī* means 'a morning draught.'

[2] In the *Āīn* he is thus described, 'His name is Muḥammad Mīrak. He traces his de cent from Niẓām-ul-Mulk of Ṭūs' (i, 583).

[3] بیوفائی as in MSS. (A and B). The text has آشنائی, 'love' or 'familiarity,' which does not make such good sense

[4] i.e., as a suitor,

"Since my head was severed by that dagger of cruelty
It remains, weltering in blood, in one place, and my sad heart in another.
Love, whether in separation or in union, is a source of pain;
Khusrav bewails his love in one place and Farhād[1] his in another."

LXXIII. Ṣādiqī.[2] 259

He was born in Qandahār but was a Hirātī by origin. He was for some time in Hindūstān and died. The following verses are his:—

"So many wounds has my body received from thy sword
That on whichever side I fall my heart falls to the ground."

"The wounded heart pays no heed to the body,
The martyr of love has no need of a shroud.
Since I have been created a man of straitened means
Why have I no share in that mouth[3]?
Of my body little is left but a formless idea, and that too,
When closely regarded, is seen to be no more than my shirt."

"On the day on which each man's lot was decreed to him by fate,
The lot of others was joy, while mine was sorrow.
O my heart! Tell me not that that moonlike beauty comes in answer to my weeping;
So many thousands of lamentations have I uttered, and when did she come?"

[1] Khusrav was the husband and Farhād the lover of Shīrīn.

[2] Ṣādiqī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] There is a play here on the word تنگ (*tang*) 'strait' or 'narrow' as applied both to a man's means and to a lovely mouth which cannot be reproduced in translation.

A quatrain.

"The structure of cruelty was founded by thee,
The structure of my life was scattered to the winds by thee
Thou art a treasure of elegance, yet never
Has my ruined habitation been made prosperous by thee."

LXXIV. Ṣarfī.[1]

260 He is Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, a small portion of whose perfections has already been described by the author's halting pen. He is an epitome of all accomplishments and therefore if his praises be repeated (a pleasant repetition), what fault can be found? In spite of his having written standard works on the mysticism of the *Ṣūfis* and many other branches of knowledge his genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry. The following couplets are a small portion of the fruit of his wonderful meditations:—

"In the morning that beauty with a face like the moon threw a veil over her face,
It was strange to see the sun veiled before evening fell."

"Ask not of the merits of tutty, but ask for the dust of her door,
Ask of its virtues from discerning men."

In his latter days he wished to compose a commentary on the *Qur'ān* like the Great Commentary[2] and he had already written some of it roughly when suddenly death's decree reached him, and the unavoidable summons of God[3] was delivered to him in his well-loved native land, as has been said, and he died.

[1] *Vide* p. 200. In the *Āīn* his *takhallus* is given as *Ṣairafī*, but *Ṣarfī* is correct *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*. i, 581, and n. 2.

[2] تفسیر کبیر (*Tafsīr-i-Kabīr*), perhaps the *Anwār-ut-tanzīl*, *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p 6, n. 4.

[3] The text has خلائق (*Khalā'iq*) 'creatures.' Both MSS. have خلاق (*Khallāq*) 'the Creator,' which is better.

LXXV. Ṣarfī of Sāwa.[1]

He was for some time in Gujarāt with Khwāja Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and then came to Lāhor and lived as a religious mendicant. When Shaikh Faiẓī was appointed to the Dakan he went with him, and thence journeyed to the next world. He has written a *dīvān* and in long and short odes was a master of style. The following couplets are by him:—

"I am debarred from traversing the road to the *Ka'bah*, else would I have sent there,
The sole of a foot glad to endure the torment of collecting its acacia thorns."

"My rose-seller who wishes to bring her roses to market
Must first acquire strength to withstand the impetuous throng of buyers."

"If thou wishest to burn me light up the fire of thy cheek,
And so shall a light arise from my ashes till the day of 261 resurrection."

LXXVI. Ṣabūrī of Hamadān.[2]

He was taken prisoner on the day on which the Khānzamān was slain, and though he escaped execution he did not escape death.[3] His poetry is mediocre. These few verses are from his pen:—

"I have surrendered my soul and my heart, being no longer able to bear the pain of separation from her,

[1] Thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 586): "He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence." In the corrupt Lakhnau text of the *Ṭabaqāt* he is called 'Mullā Ḥarfī of Sāwa,' and is thus described, 'He was in the company of this humble one (*scil.* the author, Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad) for some time in Gujarāt and was for some time at court. He went with Malik-ush-Shu'arā Shaikh Faiẓī to the Dakan, and departed thence on the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz.' His name seems to have been Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn.

[2] Ṣabūrī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] *Vide* p. 314, n. 1. The author's meaning apparently is that Ṣabūrī died, ether of wounds or of illness, soon after he was captured.

What a pain is this, which has no remedy save the surrendering of one's soul!
When the manifest fever of my love is not visible to her,
How shall I inform her of my secret wounds?
When that moon-like beauty walks abroad in the night in vesture of the hue of the night
The brightness of dawn may be seen where her dress opens at the neck."

"I would that her breast could be cleft by my dagger
That my pure heart might see whether her heart is pure."

"Her waist has entranced the hearts of men,
Has completely made away with the hearts of men."

LXXVII. Ṣālih the Madman.[1]

He obtained from the emperor the title of *'Aqil* ('the sagacious'). He is crazy about statuary. For some time he has laid it upon himself as a duty to eat nothing before he has sent five or six dishes of meat to be thrown into a river, a fountain, or a pond as an offering to Khiẓr (on him be peace). He used to hand these dishes to Qāsim, a native of India (who was a poet and the son of an elephant driver, and also a low-minded fellow), and Qāsim used to go out and invite *qalandars*[2] and other rascals to eat the food, and when (on his return) Ṣāliḥ would say,
262 'Ha, did you see the Khwāja?' the impudent rogue would reply, "Yes, his holiness the Khwāja deigned to eat the food with much relish, and sent you his blessing," and would fabricate lying stories of this sort, which the madman believed. He had, however, some poetic genius, and to him might have been applied the saying:—

[1] Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, "Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the madman received the title of 'Aqil. His father was said to be I'lāmī the librarian, who had been librarian to the emperor Humāyūn. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ grew up from childhood in the service of the emperor Akbar and is now enjoying an allowance in Kābul. He is in easy circumstances and well-to-do."

[2] قلندر a wandering religious mendicant, usually of loose habits.

"Beautiful poetry emanates from the cross-grained Ḥaidar Kalaj
Just as roses spring from a midden."

Ṣāliḥ wrote the following couplet:—

"Since the desire of her locks has fettered my feet,
My only way out of this bargain[1] is to surrender my life."

Ṣāliḥ was for some time a favoured and honoured courtier, then fell into disgrace and went to Kābul. He returned thence and was appointed to the trusteeship of the light-diffusing shrine of the Sulṭān of Shaikhs[2] (may God hallow his soul!), but did not accept the appointment, and, having obtained leave to return to Kābul, departed.

LXXVIII. Ṭāramī.

He is Mullā 'Alī the *Muḥaddiṣ*,[3] brother of the well-known Mullā Ṣādiq He acquired his learning in the Sayings in Arabia, and was extremely pious and temperate. He came twice to India, and in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) entered the protection of God's mercy, when the famous Mullā 'Ālim of Kabul[4] made this chronogram on his death.

[1] This couplet contains the usual play on the words سوداء (Arabic) 'melancholy,' 'desire' and سودا (Persian) 'traffic,' 'trade,' and also the common simile which likens the locks of the beloved to fetters.

[2] Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, born at Badāon in Oct. A.D. 1236, and died at Dihlī April 3, A.D. 1525. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, pp. 71, n. 2, 236 and n 2, 236 and n. 1, 267, 269, n. 5, 270 and n. 6, 271 nn 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n. 4, 611, n. Also Firishta, ii, 730, and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, iii 365.

[3] محدّث 'one learned in the sayings of Muḥammad' (احاديث) mentioned below. Mullā 'Alī Ṭāramī the *Muḥaddiṣ* is not mentioned in the *Āīn*. For an account of his brother, *vide* p. 354.

[4] *Vide* no. LXXIV.

"Alas! for suddenly Mullā 'Alī
Has been snatched from our midst by misfortune's victory.
To ascertain the year of his death remember that the date of the year which followed it
Is contained in the words 'Mullā 'Alī the *Muḥaddiṣ* is dead.'"[1]

His sprightly genius, following the dictates of his taste, would sometimes employ itself in the composition of verses. (The 263 following are some of his verses.)

"My earthy body is so withered away from the scorching brand of separation
That it escapes from my garments like dust, if I shake the skirt of my robe."

"Thy stately form is a plant in the garden of my soul,
The plant of thy stature is more ethereal than my thoughts."

"I have plunged the pupil of my eye into water
That it may not for a moment think of sleep."

"Since I have no honour among men,
I seek to flee from men as my tears flow from my eyes."[2]

[1] مولد ملا علي صعدت giving the date A.H. 982. I have been obliged to give a somewhat full paraphrase of the hemistich preceding this, which has apparently puzzled the editor of the text, in order that the sense may not be lost. The editor of the text, in a footnote in which he gives an inferior variant of the hemistich, gravely remarks that the chronogram gives the date 982, not having understood, apparently that the composer of the chronogram has drawn attention to this fact, and expressly says that the date given in the chronogram is that of the year following that of the Mullā's death.

[2] There is here a play upon the words مردم (*mardum*) 'men' and مردم (*mardum*, for *mardum-i-cashm*) 'pupil of the eye' which cannot be reproduced in translation.

"Since I have cast my heart into the bonds of the tresses of moonlike beauties
I have woven for myself a net of calamity."

LXXIX. Ṭarīqī of Sāwa.[1]

He was a lewd old man and a buffoon[2] and was popular among most of the poets about the court by the mere force of his impudence.

He at last had the honour of performing the holy pilgrimage (to Makkah), and died there. The following verses are by him:—

"What business have lovers other than giving up their lives?
Since I fear not death what else should I fear?"

"From the toilsome pain of separation nobody has any life left."
If this is separation nobody has any life left."

"In this land I have given my heart to a most cruel enslaver.
I have fallen into the snare of the locks of one with a face like a fairy."

"I am the faithful dog of him whose foot does not stray 264 beyond the skirts of his own power,
Who imposes obligations on none, and is under obligation to none."

[1] Thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā Ṭarīqī spent some years in the emperor's service, and at length performed a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz where he died.' In note 3 on p. 598 of the *Āīn* (vol. i.), an epigram of his on Judā'ī (p. 291) is quoted. He accuses Judā'ī of plagiarism from Ashkī (p 260). On p. 252 he is accused by Qāsim Arsalan, with Sahmi and Faridūn, as a plagiarist.

[2] A word (جنکرو) occurs here the meaning of which I cannot divine I neither know nor can discover any Persian or Urdū word resembling it, and have been obliged to omit it. Whatever Badāonī wrote, we may be tolerably certain that it was nothing complimentary.

"We saw the graceful cypress-like figure of that fair one depart,
Although no one has seen a soul depart."

"Thou saidst, 'Do not hover around me, or I will disgrace and slay thee.'
Still do I hover around thee. Depart not from thy word."

"When her two cheeks come into my mind in the hours of sleep,
All night long I see the moon and the sun in my dreams.
Remembering that thou wert to come, although thou comest not,
Tranquillity leaves my soul, and distraction enters my heart."

"The pain of love is increased, and no sympathy remains in the world,
Majnūn was both afflicted and sympathetic, but he did not remain in the world."

"From this world, as a mistress, I have wholly cut myself off.
That I might quarrel with nobody for such a thing as a world."

"It is impossible to live without thee for a moment in the world,
For thou art my soul, and nobody can live without a soul."

"Nobody spoke, nor asked what a stage this must have been
In which Khiẓr was the last of the water-carriers of the caravan."

"The army of grief for thy absence has captured the citade of my heart,

The scars which are visible on my heart are the hosts[1] of the foe."

LXXX. Ṭālib of Iṣfahān.[2] 265

He has now dwelt in Kashmīr for nearly eight years. At first he was a religious mendicant and then he elected to become an official, and entered the emperor's service. From Kashmīr he was sent as envoy to the ruler of Little Tibat, 'Alī Rāi,[3] and on his return presented to Shaikh Abū-'l-Faẓl a treatise which he had written on the wonders of that land, which Abū-'l-Faẓl embodied in the *Akbarnāma*. He is a very sympathetic man, and his taste, both in poetry and in prose, is correct. He wrote the following quatrain:—

"Thou givest me to drink of the poison of thy absence, asking me what has happened,
Thou sheddest my blood and shakest me from thee, asking me what has happened,
O thou who art ignorant of what the sword of thy absence inflicts on me,
Wring my dust, that thou mayst know what has happened to me."

[1] سیاهیِ لشکر (*siyāhī-i-lashkar*) 'dark bodies of troops.'

[2] In the *Āīn* (i, 607), where he is called 'Bābā Ṭālib of Iṣfahān,' he is thus described, 'He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.' According to the *Haft Iqlīm* Bābā Ṭālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmīr, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. According to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* he was often in the company of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ (p. 233), Zain Khān Kūka, Abū-'l-Faẓl, and Shaikh Faiẓī, and was, in 1616, Ṣadr of Gujarāt. *Vide* also Badāoni, vol ii, text, p. 372.

[3] *Vide* vol. ii, text, 372. In 1591 Ḥājī Mirzā Beg of Kābul was sent to Alī Rāi to demand his daughter in marriage for Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr), and returned with the lady, who was duly married to the prince as his eighth wife. On this occasion Mulla Ṭālib accompanied Ḥājī Mirzā Beg. In A.D. 1602-03 'Alī Rai invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr, but retreated before Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Turkmān, and Saifullāh. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 474.

Another quatrain.

"Thou readest not the story of my grief, and it waxes old,
Thou knowest not my disappointment, and it waxes old,
Let not thy coming be delayed, for as for this wound of separation,
I fear that thou wilt linger, and it will wax old."

Another quatrain.

"One day I, weary with travelling along the road of the stages of the heart,
Turned its dust into mire with water from blisters on the foot of search.
I spend my life on this road in order that, in answer to my supplication,
266 Soul may meet soul, and heart heart."

Other verses.

"Seek after enjoyment, for this virgin of life, sitting in the bridal chamber,
Like a rose bursting forth from the bud casts her mother aside.
Like the petals of a rose scattered by the spring breeze
We go, with dust on our heads in the grief of our hearts."

"I am pleased with the folk of this world, for I have learnt from their fellowship
Not to give up my corner of solitude for the world."

LXXXI. Ṭāli'ī of Yazd.[1]

He is a penman who writes the *nasta'līq* hand well and is of moderately studious habits. His business was that of a bookseller[2] in Agra.

[1] He is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.
[2] Or 'bookbinder,' or 'librarian'—صحاف

The following couplets are by him:—

"Cupbearer,[1] how long can the grief of this world be borne?
Bring wine, that I may banish grief from my heart."

"Every moment she afflicts my heart, that she may make it weary of her.
When will my heart weary of her, however much she afflicts it?"

"I wish for no companion but thee, my darling,
I desire thee, and there is none in the world that I desire beside thee."

"If, when I have suffered a thousand griefs, she listens to a word from me,
She hears but the speech of a self-seeker, and straightway forgets it."
"She is enraged if I speak to her but a word of my sad state;
How strange is this, that I cannot speak of my sad state to her!"

A quatrain. 267

"The devotee boasts of his virtue and piety,
The lover expends the cash of his life for his love;
Each lives in hope of a glance from the eye of his Friend,
Each wonders towards whom the Friend will cast that glance."

Another quatrain.

"Summon contentment, if thou art wise,
Thou mayst thus, perchance, slay the dog of base desire.
See that neither water nor broth be too plentiful. Drain not the cup,
For it will rebuke thee in a hundred draughts of iced water and acid."

[1] The text has, wrongly, ساقیان (*sāqiyān*) in the plural. The MSS. have ساقیا (*sāqiyā*), the vocative singular, which is correct.

LXXXII. Ṭiflī.[1]

He is the son of Mullā Darvīsh of Fatḥpūr, and his uncle, Mullā Ṣāliḥ, is now the teacher appointed to the monastery at Fatḥpūr. Ṭiflī in his thirteenth year was reading the *Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyyah*.[2] He has a most generous nature and an admirable taste in poetry. He is in the service of the eldest prince,[3] and obtained the poetic name of Ṭiflī from him. The following few couplets are from a laudatory ode which he composed in honour of the prince:—

"O King,[4] in whose just reign strife itself has become the guardian of the world against the robbers of confusion,
The hope of thy favour is such that the very sins of sinners protect them from the fire of hell.
268 Thou art he, to the war-horse of whose resolution in the day of battle
Victory is the standard-bearer and success the fellow.
Last night the bird of glory brought the record of thy success,
That bird the fame of whose pinions comes from the uttermost parts of space beyond our ken.
The scribe of thy dignity has written passages of which we hope for a translation and for which we earnestly desire a translator."

He also wrote the following verses:—

"If the beauty of the Idol were to display itself in the monastery

[1] Neither Ṭiflī nor his relations are mentioned in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] A commentary on a famous work on logic. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 427, n. 1.

[3] *Scil.* Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.

[4] Jahāngīr had not ascended the throne when this grossly fulsome poem was written, but the word *Shāh* was applicable to a prince, as well as to a king, and the word used for reign is دور (*daur*) not عهد (*'ahd*) so that the poet did not risk the resentment of Akbar while he flattered his own master.

Devotees who drag about their prayer carpets would exchange their rosaries for the idolator's thread.
Nobody counts the cash of both worlds offered by the buyer
In that place where the merchandise consists of wounded hearts."

"I am he who has grown to love the lancet of grief.
Ointment is shamed by the wound in my breast."

"From our manner of dealing with Islām in the day of retribution
It is likely that infidelity will seize us by the skirt."

"The song of love's feast this night inflamed the plectrum,
Her glances were the singers and her eyebrow the rebeck-players this night."

"O heart, let my lips for once be wreathed with smiles!
For to-night will be seen the splendour of love's tears of blood."

"I fear no reproof, for the reproaches of the jealous watcher
Are as applause to the followers of love's religion."

"Ah! See how thy glance imperils our true faith, 269
Trust in thy promises is a sure way to disappointment."[1]

"Brahman, despair not of the efficacy of thy prostrations to thy idol,
For the mark on thy forehead is the mirror of thy fate."[2]

[1] The text has پیشانی (*pīshānī*) 'forehead,' which neither scans nor makes sense. Both MSS. have پشیمانی (*pashīmānī*), the correct reading.

[2] The reference is to the caste-mark worn on the forehead by Hindūs. The couplet is *Ṣūfī*-istic in tone. Religion, the poet says, is a purely subjective matter, and it is the sincerity of worship rather than its object, that is important.

"How should my pain be assuaged by lint and ointment,
The bird of whose wounded heart breathes forth flame?"

The following few couplets are from a *tarjī'-band*[1] by Ṭiflī:—

"My tears, rejoice, for this night
My heart's blood surges up in my eyes.
O reunion, plead for me, for my desire for her
Has devastated the abode of reason.
Speak not to me of delight,
For the lancet has become the companion of my wound,
It is useless to say to anybody,
'Scatter diamond-dust in your wound but do not cry out.'"

It is marvellous that a lad of Ṭiflī's years should understand and speak Persian; much more so that he should be able to compose poetry in the language. It may be hoped that he will outstrip many of these old men who have wasted their lives.

LXXXIII. Ẓuhūrī.[2]

He used to live in the Dakan and was characterized by his unrestrained manner of life, his indifference to public opinion, and his disinclination from attending at the courts of kings. Shaikh Faiẓī used to dilate much on the praiseworthy qualities of him and of Malik Qumī, known as Malik-ul-Kalām, and these two poets wished to accompany the Shaikh to the imperial court at Lāhor, but Burhān-ul-Mulk[3] prevented them from going. It is

[1] A poem in which a refrain occurs at stated intervals.

[2] Ẓuhūrī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. copy of his *dīvan*. He is described as Mullā Nūr-ud-dīn Ẓuhūrī of Tarshīz.

[3] Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, king of Aḥmadnagar, A.D. 1590-1594. On his death the affairs of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom fell into great confusion. Three kings followed one another in quick succession, mere puppets raised to the throne and deposed by opposing factions, and there was much bloodshed. In 1595, the year in which Badāonī's history was concluded, Akbar's troops were attacking Aḥmadnagar and peace was made on the condition that Aḥmadnagar ceded to the empire the province of Berar. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 39, 236.

now reported that the unruly Dakanīs, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners,[1] have, in a recent riot, put these two poor innocent men to death (may God put *them* to death!).

Maulānā Ẓuhūrī was a master of poetical style, and composed a *dīvān*. The following couplets are quoted as a memorial of him:— 270

"The wine-stains cause tulips to bloom on my woollen coat,
The evening of Friday ever brings a Saturday for me."[2]

"Ẓuhūrī, thy complaints of the beloved are out of place.
Thy destiny is at fault. What fault is that of hers?"

LXXXIV. 'Ālim of Kābul.[3]

This *Mullā* of pleasant manners, cheerful nature and graceful actions used the poetical name of 'Ārif. In argument, and at other times, he would say things fit to make his hearers die with laughter. In his common-place book he has written an essay on the commentary[4] on the *Maqāṣid* and has stated the proposition that the title means 'the book of endeavour,' which was one of the compositions of the writer, and also a commentary called the *Tajdīd* ('renewal') on the commentary[1] on the

[1] The domestic history of the independent Muḥammadan kingdoms of the Dakan is largely the history of violent and bloody feuds between the *Dakanī* and Abyssinian nobles on the one hand and the 'foreign' nobles (Turks, Arabs, and Persians) on the other. The latter were frequently much favoured by the kings of the Dakan and the jealousy of the native Dakanis led to frequent conflicts and massacres. *Vide* Haig's *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 4—10 *et passim*.

[2] Friday, according to the Muḥammadan method of computing time, begins on Thursday evening, which is called the evening of Friday. The poet's meaning is that he does not keep the Sabbath of Islām and that Friday is as Saturday to him. This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B). I have introduced it from MS. (A).

[3] Mullā 'Ālim is not mentioned in the *Āīn* as a poet. He is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā 'Alim of Kābul was a man of cheerful nature, happy disposition, and unconventional habits. He wrote poetry and composed a history of governors, learned men, and poets, which he called *Fawātiḥ-ul-Wilāyah*.'

[4] I have not been able to identify these two works, which are probably works on theology.

Tajdīd, and also some marginal notes on the *Muṭawwal*,[1] in which he writes, "This book is copied from the book *Ṭuwal*,[2] which is equal in length to the *Muṭawwal*, or even longer." He has also written a book containing accounts of the Shaikhs of India, in which he has entered everything that he has heard from every mosque-sweeper and beggar, adding also some conjectures of his own, and he has named it *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah*. When they questioned him regarding this title, saying, "The particle *wa* ('and') requires something preceding it, to be coupled with the latter clause, and what should precede, it does not appear," he replied, "That which precedes it is here understood, and is manifest by transposition, that is to say, the title should be *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah*, with a *fatḥah* over the *wāw* of *walāyah* as the *wāw* preceding the phrase indicates, not with a *kasr* under the *wāw* of *wilāyaḥ*, as it is commonly read." [3]

The Mullā was always jealous of Qāẓī Khān of Badakhshān,[4] on the ground of his having invented the *sijdah* [5] ('prostration'). One day in Fatḥpūr he led the late Mirzā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad and the author off to his house at early dawn, with much solicitation, and, having given us an appetizing electuary, began to show

[1] *Vide* vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428, n. 3.

[2] The *Mullā* is here punning on the title of the *Muṭawwal*, which means 'lengthened.' *Ṭuwal* means 'the duration of life,' also 'the seven long chapters of the *Qur'ān*.'

[3] I have been obliged to translate somewhat freely here, in order to make some attempt at explaining the *Mullā's* clumsy jest. *Wa fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyah* means 'and the beginnings of saintship.' The Mullā was asked to explain the apparently redundant 'and' and replied that it indicated that the first letter of the word *wilāyah* ('saintship') was to be read with a short 'a,' like the same letter in the word *wa* ('and'), so that the title of the book would read *Fawātiḥ-ul-walāyah* ('the beginnings of *governing*'), his object being to satirize the pretended saints who had made their sanctity a means of rising to high places *Vide infra*.

[4] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 440, where his title is given as Ghāzī Khān, his *name* being Qāẓī Niẓām. *Vide* p. 214.

[5] The *sijdah* ('prostration') was introduced at Akbar's court instead of the *kūrnish* and *taslīm* (bowing and raising the hand to the head), and gave great offence to the orthodox, *vide* p. 214, n. 2.

us his books, talking about them from dawn till midday, while we remained hungry and were not able to get a word in. At last the Mirzā, no longer able to endure it, asked the Mullā whether he had anything to eat. The Mullā answered, "I thought that 271
you had eaten before you came. I have a lamb here; if you wish I will kill it now." We rose and went home. It is impossible to recount all pranks of this nature which he played.

When he saw that Shaikh Abū'l-Faẓl, Qāẓī Khān, and others of his contemporaries from being *mullās* rose to the rank of *amīrs* of the highest grade, while he continued to draw a small stipend, he petitioned that he too might be admitted as a soldier. His request was granted, and one day, at the time when the guard turned out for the evening salute, he appeared in military guise before the emperor, girt in a grotesque fashion with a borrowed sword, and, having approached the presence from one side of the darbār, stood, and, catching his scabbard to him, said, without any introduction,[1] "By which *manṣabdār* [2] shall I stand, and from what place shall I make my obeisance [3]?" The emperor was sagacious enough to penetrate his design and said, "Make your obeisance from that place in which you are now standing." When the Mullā saw that this effort to obtain recognition had failed he wandered at large. One day, in order to show that he possessed all that became a soldier, he came to court, in the noonday heat, in dirty, greasy clothes quilted with cotton, which had been either given or lent to him by somebody, and Mirzā

[1] The text appears to me to be corrupt here. It has بی نیابت کسنی which is unintelligible. MS. (A) has بی‌نیابت کسی which is not much better. MS. (B) has بی نیابت کسی which appears to me to be the correct reading, and which I have followed. For خلاف in the text and MSS. which makes no sense, I have substituted فلاف.

[2] A military commander. The object of the unceremonious behaviour of Mullā 'Alim, who was, apparently, at this time no more than a private soldier, was an attempt to obtain a *manṣab*, or military command.

[3] The word used is تسلیم (*taslīm*). The Mullā would not, apparently, perform the سجده (*sijdah*) 'prostration.'

'Azīz Kūka cracked some pleasant jests on his appearance, and the Mullā returned pleasant answers to them.

As his birthplace was Gulbahār, a village in the district of Kābul, he wrote for some time under the poetical name of Bahārī, but afterwards, having recognized that the name was unbecoming, as it calle to mind the names borne by servant girls, he changed it, and called himself Rabī'ī.[1] The motto which he composed for his seal was, "He had a well-ordered mind."[2]

272 The following few couplets are quoted as a memorial of him :—

"That eye in which I delighted every moment flees away,
It may be that I shall place a straw from her wall upon it."

"The glass of delight has been shattered, with whomsoever I sat;
The bond of fellowship has snapped, with whomsoever I bound it.
She has risen to slay me, with the sword of hatred in her hand,
Whenever I sat in kindness with anybody for a moment."

He has composed, some couplets in the metre of 'The Chain of Gold'[3] and he has called his book of nonsense "The Tinkling of the Bell," and has enumerated in it books said to be of his own composition, some of which have no existence but in his verses, and has given them imaginary names, as in the following verses :—

[1] *Rabī'ī* ('of, or relating to the spring') is the Arabic equivalent to *Bāhārī*. I cannot reconcile this statement with the statement above, that the Mullā's *takhallus* was *'Arif*.

[2] The motto may also be translated "He had poetic genius." The text here has a note by the editor to the effect that the reading is the same in the three MSS. from which he edited the text. The reading seems to puzzle him, but it is perfectly simple.

[3] سلسلة الذهب (*silsilat-udh-dhahab*). I have not been able to trace this poem.

"Thou mayst have seen, from a copy of the *Tajdīd*,[1]
That a new favour has newly arrived
In which are concealed a hundred stages of the pilgrimage,[2]
And from the contents of which great enterprises [3] are manifest.
The text of the *Tajūd* [4] is halting beside it,
Its rose-garden has lost its colour from want of water.
Its splendour, without dissimulation and without exaggeration,
Is perfect wisdom, the wisdom of the sunrise [5]
And of that book, the attributes of which are beyond telling,
Dalālat-ul-'aql [6] is the name and description.
And that pearl which has come from the ocean of generosity,
Is the *Lujjat-ul-jūd fi'l-wujūd*.[7]
I am the compiler of that *'Awālim-ul-āṯhār*,[8]
From the instructions of the knower of chronicles,

[1] The *Tajdīd* (تجديد—'renewal') was Mullā 'Alim's commentary on the commentary on the *Tajūd*. In this couplet the poet puns on the Arabic root meaning 'new,' using three different measures of the triliteral root.

[2] مواقف (*mawāqif*) 'halting places or stages in the performance of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at *Makkah*. It is probable that Mullā 'Ālim styled the chapters or sections of his book *mawāqif*, or that he is referring to a book of this name. MS. (A) has the reading موافق (*muwāfiq*) which does not make good sense.

[3] مقاصد (*maqāsid*) a reference to the poet's كتاب قصد (*kitāb-i-qaṣd*) or 'book of endeavour' and to the *Maqāsid*, the book on which it is a commentary.

[4] *Vide* note 1, *supra*.

[5] حكمت عين و حكمت اشراق. It is possible that the words عين (*'ain*) and اشراق (*ishrāq*) refer to the titles of books.

[6] 'Indication of wisdom,' apparently one of the poet's imaginary works.

[7] 'The ocean of generosity, on existence,' apparently another of the poet's imaginary works.

[8] عوالم الآثار 'worlds of relics.' Probably another of Mullā 'Ālim's imaginary works.

In which I have collected a hundred and twenty different branches of learning,
Say who else can be thus described."

In spite of all this fooling he was a good friend, tactful, accomplished, able, sympathetic, unceremonious, agreeable, acceptable, and jocular. I hope that God (He is praised and exalted!) may in His grace and benevolence have made him a partaker of eternal life in heaven.

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LXXXV. Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy of Mashhad.[1]

He was for some time *Ṣadr* [2] under the emperor Humāyūn and his brother, Mīr 'Abdullāh the jurist, was one of Humāyūn's intimate and specially honoured confidants. Both brothers were endued with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.[3]

Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy was expert in writing the *Bābarī* hand, which was invented by the emperor Bābar, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the *Qur'ān* written in that hand, of which no trace now remains.[4] In the memoir of Mir

[1] *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 468, 471, 480. He was a commander of five hundred and Akbar's *Mīr-i-'Adl* or chief justice In the 35th year of Akbar's reign he and *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* took part in a drinking bout, and amused Akbar very much. Mr. Blochmann says that he is called in the *Tabaqāt* '*Khwāja* 'Abdul Ḥayy,' but in the Lucknow edition he is thus described, 'Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy the *Ṣadr* was a *Khurāsānī*. The emperor Humāyūn made him *Ṣadr-ul-Afāẓil* ('chief of learned men') He was for years in the service of the emperor Akbar.'

[2] 'It was the *Ṣadr*, or, as he was then (*scil.* before the reign of Akbar) generally styled, *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *julūs*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. The power of the *Ṣadr* was immense. They were the highest law officers and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the King. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 270.

[3] Or, perhaps, 'administrative ability.' The word is نظامت (*niẓāmat*).

[4] Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl, in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, discourse at large on the art of

penmanship and mentions ten different scripts, among which the *Bābarī* finds no place. This bears out Badāoni's statement that it was lost. *Vide* Āīn, i, 96.

'Alā-ud-daulah [1] it is mentioned that Mīr 'Abdul Hayy devoted some attention to the study of accomplishments and that nobody had learnt to write in the difficult *Bābarī* style more quickly or better than he, but Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka wrote in the margin of the memoir that Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy had no knowledge of any branch of learning, and that his one accomplishment was some knowledge of the *Bābarī* script, with which he was very imperfectly acquainted, that he was wonderfully simple and would, apropos of nothing and without consideration, relate in social gatherings strange tales which no child would believe. As Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy was better known to Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka than to Mīr 'Alā-ud-daulah, it is beyond doubt that what the Mīrzā wrote is nearer to the truth than that which is written in the memoir, for Mīr 'Alā-ud-daulah, has recorded much incongruous nonsense [2] in the memoir.

Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy has some aptitude for poetry, and wrote an answer to that fantastical quatrain which was written in the form of a square by one of the accomplished men about the court in honour of Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā, and is so well known that it is the first thing that children are set to learn. The quatrain is as follows:—

"O thou, before whose court a hundred Rustams [3] have cast 274
down their crowns,

[1] *Vide* page 239, also *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 447 and n. 2, where the name of his *Taẕkirah* or memoir is given as نفائس المآثر (*nafā'is-ul-ma'āṯhir*) 'precious memorials.'

[2] شتر گربه (*shutur-gurba*), lit. 'camel-cat.' Anything incongruous or absurd.

[3] In the text the four verses of which each of these quatrains is composed are written, following the conceit of their authors, on the four sides of a square, with the exception of the titles concluding the final hemistich of each, which are continued in the line of one of the diagonals of the square. There is no particular art in this conceit, for any quatrain could be so written. The text contains the following note by the editor, 'In truth this form of composition is no more than a child's plaything and men of letters do not class such things among *murabba'* (verses written in a doubled metre),

Whose praises are sung by all those who have attained perfection;
India has been conquered merely by thy footstep within her bounds,
Thy title is, MUḤAMMAD HINDĀL!"

Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy, who also had a childish nature, wrote, in reply, the following quatrain:—

"O thou, at whose door a thousand monarchs like Cæsar hold their crowns,
Whose praises exercise their tongues evening and morning!
May all the confines of the world, O Lord,
Be under the sway of the king of the world, MUḤAMMAD AKBAR!"

275 LXXXVI. 'ITĀBĪ.[1]

He is Sayyid Muḥammad of Najaf who made a name in the Dakan[2] and came to Ilāhābād and paid his respects to the emperor. He was very unconventional in all outward observances and was bold and slovenly. It was reported to the emperor that he had written a satire in the Dakan on Shāh Fatḥullāh,[3] and when he was questioned on this point he denied that he had done so, saying, 'In that country I would have taken no notice of a

nor are they mentioned as such in the *Majma'-uṣ-Ṣanā'i'*, nor in the *Haft Qulzum*, for any four hemistichs might be written in this form.' The editor of the text apparently resents the application by Badāonī of the term *murabba'* ('in the form of a square') to these quatrains, but Badāonī evidently did not intend to say that these quatrains belonged to the class of compositions technically known as *murabba'*, but merely that they were written in the form of a square. The MSS. omit the first syllable of each hemistich.

[1] Thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 588), 'He possesses harmony of thought, but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life,' and thus in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'He came from foreign parts to India and owing to his ill-regulated disposition he was imprisoned for two years in Gwāliyār, and was at last pardoned by the natural clemency of the emperor.'

[2] Probably in Bījāpūr.

[3] *Vide* p. 216.

man of that sort.' This remark increased the suspicion that he had written the satire and he was imprisoned, and it was ordered that all his papers should be examined in Fatḥpūr in order that it might be discovered, whether he had written satires on anybody while he was in Hindūstān. Some incriminating papers were discovered, and he remained in prison in Gwāliyār for ten[1] years until at length he was pardoned at the intercession of the eldest prince and other courtiers, and was summoned to Lāhor, but he still retained his evil disposition.

One day he came to the house of Qāẓī Ḥasan of Qazvīn,[2] who has the title of Khān, and the doorkeeper opposed his entering. 'Itābī grappled with him, entered the assembly, which was a party of friends who had sat down to food, and said to Qāẓī Ḥasan, 'It was this food, that led you to cause your door to be shut in the face of a learned man, a foreigner, and you have a perfect right (to keep your food to yourself).' In spite of all that the master of the house and his guests could do in the way of excusing themselves, saying that the doorkeeper had not recognized him, 'Itābī would not be appeased, and refused to sit down and eat. He had great skill in writing Persian and Arabic poetry, also in penmanship and in prose composition. He has composed a *dīvān*. The following couplets are by him:—

"We have scorched our wise hearts in the furnace of desire,
"We have burnt the lamp of the *Ka'bah* at the door of the idol-temple."

"We have given thee permission to shed this innocent blood, 276
We have given it to thee verbally, in writing, and under a formal attestation."

"We swear by thy honour that we are the nightingales of this meadow,

[1] *Two* years according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, *vide* n. 9.

[2] He served in Gujarāt in A.D. 1587, and later in the siege of Asīrgarh. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 498.

That the rose has bloomed and we know not where the garden is."

"In thy country the name of faithfulness causes weeping,
Both the messenger, and the letter which he bears cause, each separately, weeping.

"The drum of thy munificence sounds loudly, but I can find no way to the sun (of the assembly).
This special custom and public assembly of thine will kill me."[1]

"I have left thy street, besmirched with accusations;
I brought to it chastity, and I leave it defiled with sin.
May the black night of thy locks be pleased with the multitude of hearts (offered to it)
While I stray, miserable, from thy street.
The fountain of Khiẓr[2] prides itself on receiving the dust of my feet
While I go, thirstier than ever, from the dimple in thy chin.
Sugar was poured out at each door at which I knocked, thou wouldst think
That I had been to beg from that laughing lip.
I knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and from the door of despair
I turned, hopeless of help from either fire-worshipper or Musalmān."

"In my impatience, 'Itābī, I resolved to part from her, and now
Each time the thought of her enters my heart I weep unrestrainedly."

[1] That is to say the loved one's custom of holding public levées, having previously given notice of them.

[2] The fountain of the water of life.

A quatrain.

"In the love of thy face I have lost both learning and sense. 277
But what of these? I have lost my very soul
In following thee, whatever I had at the end of my life
Have I lost, and yet I have lost all evil."

"It would not be wonderful if from the atmosphere of thy face,
And from the heated iron of my heart, a film should form on the mirror."

After his release from confinement he was given a sum of a thousand rupees for travelling expenses and was placed under the charge of Qilīj Khān,[1] who was ordered to send him off from the port of Sūrat on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, but on the way to Sūrat he escaped and fled into the Dakan, where he took refuge with the rulers of the country, and there he still wanders about in the condition in which he formerly was.

LXXXVII. 'Ubaidī.[2]

He is a youth recently come to man's estate. He wrote the following couplet:—

"The reward for pain which is not worthy of my asking after it
Is a glance to ask for which I am unworthy."

This couplet for some time raised a great stir (among lovers of poetry) on every side in Lāhor, and on this account Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fatḥ Gilānī[3] was loud in 'Ubaidī's praises, and presented him to the emperor. When he was asked to write more poetry he did not continue a poem on the lines of this couplet, but wrote some

[1] A commander of four thousand and governor of the fort of Sūrat. He was made governor of the fort when Akbar, after a siege of forty-seven days, took it. His daughter married Akbar's youngest son, Sulṭān Dāniyāl.

[2] 'Ubaidī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] *Vide* p. 233.

pessimistic verses which obtained no recognition, and since then he has disappeared, like all traces of his poetry.

LXXXVIII. 'Ishqī Khān.[1]

He is descended from some of the religious leaders of the Turks. He is acquainted with book-keeping, and was for some time accountant-general to the imperial government. He has a *dīvān*
278 full of long and short odes. One day in Lāhor he represented that he wished to present the emperor with a complete copy of his works, and at the same time to recite before him a long ode and a short ode which he had just composed. As his poetry was known to be ridiculous, the emperor told him to keep the two odes by him and to insert them in the complete copy of his works when he should present it, in order that all his poems might be heard at one reading. He composed a long *maṣnavī*, like the *maṣnavī* of Khanjar Beg, which has already been mentioned. This couplet occurs in it,

"I am mean, of no consideration, and ugly;
What a plague of a contemptible mannikin am I."

Raḥmān Qulī Sulṭān, his son, had skill in composing chronograms, and wrote this hemistich as a posy for his seal.

"The slave Raḥmān Qulī Sulṭān, the son of 'Ishqī Khān."

(The author adds)

"How should that ingenious man have a worthless son."

Since in this selection I have imposed upon myself the duty of quoting, just as it was written, the poetry of all the poets of the age without any distinction, and most of whatever I found in my sources of information, whether melodious or inelegant, has been reproduced, I have, of necessity, quoted some of the verses of 'Ishqī Khān, in order to show no unreasonable preference. And, in truth, the responsibility rests with Mīr 'Alā-ud-daulah,[2] not with the author. The following couplets are his:—

[1] In the *Āīn* (i, 528) he is called Maulānā 'Ishqī. He came from Ghaznī.

[2] Mīr 'Alā-ud-daulah seems to have helped Badāonī in selecting verse to be quoted.

"The reflection of thy eye, heavy with the drowsiness of wine,[1] has fallen on the wine,
Like a drunkard who, in his drunkenness, falls into the water."

———

"The bud, in desire of thy lip, smiled not at the breath of the morning,
But in order to see thy face opened the eye of its heart." 279

———

"As I write my letter to thee the paper is wet with my tears,
I weep in jealousy of the pen which writes thy name on the paper."[2]

He was, at all events, a mild and dignified man, of old-fashioned manners. He has now wholly accepted the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of annihilation, and is become an old man nearing actual annihilation.

LXXXIX. 'Ilmī.[3]

He was entitled Mīr Murtaẓā and was descended of the Sayyids of Dūghalbād.[4] He was one of the most trusted officers of the Khānzamān, and for some time held possession of Badāon. He was endowed with learning and accomplishments and was immoderately fond of jesting. When Ḥijāz[5] Khān, one of the chief

[1] A drowsy or languid appearance of the eye is held by orientals to be attractive.

[2] Badāonī seems to have had a very poor opinion of 'Ishqī's poetry: but the examples here quoted are at least up to the standard of most of the verses quoted by him.

[3] 'Ilmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*, or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[4] دوغلباد in the text, with a variant, دوعات (Dū'āt), in a foot-note. MS. (B) has دوغاباد (Dūghābād). I have not been able to identify this place, the name of which has evidently puzzled the scribes.

[5] Thus in both MSS. The text has حهجاز (Ḥahjāz) or جهجاز (Jāhjaz), names which I cannot identify. The reading of the MSS. appears to me to be better than that of the text.

men of Badāon, who wrote poetry under the name of Zāhid, recited, from the *maṣnavī* which he had written on the phrase 'In the name of God,' the following couplet:—

"When the crenellations of the letter *sīn*[1] began to laugh
The letter laughed so as to show its gums,"

The Mīr said, "What are 'the crenellations of the letter *sīn*?' The doors and the walls are laughing at your verse."

Sometimes from the sprightliness of his nature he would occupy himself by writing poetry.

The following couplet is his:—

"O heart, all night the street dog gets no sleep
From thy cries and lamentation and wailing."

XC. Mir 'Azizu-'llāh.[2]

He came of the Saifi Sayyids of Qazvin[3] and in book-keeping
280 and penmanship he came first among accountants and scribes, and he also had some proficiency in those branches of learning which are not treated of in Arabic literature. He was for some time a *dīvān-i-sa'ādat*,[4] and when *Karoris*[5] were appointed throughout

[1] The poet evidently means, by this expression, the points of the letter *sīn* (س) at the head of the small loops, commonly called the 'teeth' of the letter. Hence the expression 'laughed so as to show its gums' (بن دندان *bun-i-dandān*) or, literally, 'the roots of its teeth.' *Sīn* is the second letter of the Arabic phrase. 'In the name of God,' as usually written. The verse is sufficiently absurd, but the critic's own verse is not much better.

[2] Mīr 'Azīzu-'llāh is not mentioned in the *Āīn*

[3] The Saifī Sayyids of Qazvīn were *Sunnīs*, and suffered some persecution in Persia on account of their religious belief.

[4] The *dīvān-i-sa'ādat* was clerk to the *Ṣadr*, *vide* p. 378, n. 2.

[5] *Karorīs* were revenue officers placed each over a tract of country which paid annually a *karōr* of dāms (1,00,00,000 dāms = Rs. 2,50,000) to the imperial treasury. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 13. They were first appointed in A.D. 1574-75 and each *karōrī* was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. Notwithstanding this they were grossly extortionate and depopulated large tracts by their exactions. Many of them were called to account and perished under scourging and torture or lived miserably in

the empire of Hindūstān he, having with much trouble collected five *karors* (of dāms)[1] from the Sambhal district, was appointed to the administrative and revenue charge of that district,[2] and at last he was for several years under suspension, engaged in rendering accounts to the *dīvān* and his honour was changed to disgrace, and he was subjected to torture, and suffered much, and he surrendered all that he had, even to the uttermost farthing,[3] to the imperial treasury, and, after surrendering all his possessions, surrendered his life with them. He composed a *dīvān* of short odes, a poem in praise of the people of his town,[4] a poem on roses and wine, and many other treatises in verse, but his poetry is all in the style of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā,[5] and most of the works which I have named are in that style. The following verses are his:—

"The fresh down has sprung from her ruby lip with moisture and splendour,
For she ever drinks water from the fountain of the sun."

jail till death ended their sufferings. Badāonī says that they lived for one year in luxury as *karoris* and paid for it with their lives or by dragging on a miserable existence ever afterwards. *Vide* Badaoni, vol. ii, text, p. 189.

[1] Rs. 1,250,000. The meaning of the passage is that Mīr 'Azizu-'llāh extorted this sum from the people of the Sambhal district in order to pay for the appointment of revenue administrator of the district. As this large sum was over and above the revenue which the people had to pay to government and as 'Azizu-'llah's habits of extortion probably grew upon him, it is not surprising that he was called to account.

[2] The text has صوبة (ṣūbah) 'province,' but it is improbable that Mīr 'Azizu-'llāh was placed in charge of the whole of the province of Dihlī, in which Sambhal was situated. It is more probable that he had charge of the *sarkār* or revenue district of Sambhal, which was a sufficiently important charge, paying in annual revenue, Rs. 16,73,536, not reckoning *suyurghuh*.

[3] Literally 'all that he had and had not,' an expressive phrase which may perhaps be taken to mean that he had to surrender all his property and promise to deliver whatever property he might acquire in the future.'

[4] شهر آشوب (*shahr-ashūb*) 'town-disturbing.' A poem written in praise or disparagement of the people of a town.

[5] King of Khurāsān, A.D. 1470—1505. He was descended from 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Timur.

"I am thus fallen in the road of grief and toil like rubbish,
Perchance some breeze of thy favour and grace will raise me from the dust."

"O Lord, I am distracted by the multitude of my sins,
Show me some mercy, for I am heavily weighed down by my sins.
I have grief in plenty, boundless sorrow, but no comforter.
How shall I make friends for myself? I am heavily afflicted."

It is evident that he composed these last few verses while he was in prison.

XCI. Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka.[1]

He is entitled A'ẓam Khān, and is well known for his good
281 breeding, and for his varied accomplishments and gifts, and there is no other *amīr* who is regarded as his equal in depth of understanding or in capacity. As he used formerly, now and again, but rarely, to make trial of his ability in the composition of verse, the following few verses of his are quoted, in order that these memoirs may not be destitute of all mention of him.

"Since honour and reputation prevented me from obtaining the desire of my heart,
I will henceforward shatter my reputation with a stone."

He also wrote an illuminated copy of an ode composed by himself, the opening couplet of which was this:—

"O thou, whose curled lock is the fetter of my heart,
The love of whom is mingled with all the elements of my body!"

[1] Son of Ataga Khān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar. He received the title of A'ẓam Khān in A.D. 1580, after his father's death, and was at the same time made a commander of five thousand. His daughter married Murād, Akbar's fourth son. Mīrzā 'Azīz died in A.D. 1623-24 at Aḥmadābad. He was remarkable for his ease of address, intelligence, and knowledge of history. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 325.

The following couplets are also by him:—

"The affairs of the world have no stability,
It is better that my heart should be withdrawn from the affairs of the world."

"My heart is sick with the pain and grief of loneliness,
O physician of the sick heart, what dost thou prescribe?"

"My grief-worn heart has become dust in the road of fidelity;
See, my faithless love, the way of those who humble themselves to the dust."[1]

He laid out a splendid garden in Agra, and in it built a garden-house adorned with paintings, and composed this quatrain for an inscription on the building:—

"O Lord, by the purity of heart of men of discernment,
Which is dearer to Thee than all other things,
Since this house has, by Thy grace, been completed,
Of thy favour send me honoured guests!"

There are in the world many records of his doings, one of
which relates the story of his high-spirited departure on pilgrim- 282
age to Makkah, and of his return in a different frame of mind, —one of the inevitable consequences of these evil days.[2]

[1] The text has خاکساري (*Khāksārī*) 'humility.' MS. (A) has خاکساران (*Khāksārān*) which is better.

[2] In A.D. 1001 (A.D. 1593) Mīrzā 'Azīz, who had been absent from court for six years, was summoned from Gujarāt by Akbar. The Mīrzā, then a good Musalmān, had been much alarmed by the religious freaks with which Akbar had inaugurated the millennium in the previous year and on receiving the summons fled to Diu on April 3, 1593, and departed thence on pilgrimage to Makkah. Here he remained for some time, and was so plundered in the name of religion that this zeal for Islam cooled. He returned to India in A.D. 1594-95, was favourably received by Akbar, and became a member of Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' The orthodox Badāonī here dismisses the subject very curtly. Vide vol. ii, text, pp. 387, 398, and *Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 327.

XCII. 'Ahdi of Shiraz.[1]

He has written different kinds of poetry, both long and short odes. He was for some time in Gujarāt with Mīrzā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad. When he came to Dihlī, after the deposition of Qāẓī Muḥammad, who was a fanatical Shī'ah and an evil liver, the late Ḥakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk[2] in Lāhor besought the *Ṣadrs*[3] to appoint Mullā 'Ahdī to the *Qāẓī*-ship, and by way of an anticipatory omen found the words *Qāẓī 'Ahdī*[4] to give the date of his imaginary *qāẓī*-ship, but it was all of no avail and resembled the story of an imaginary man riding an imaginary horse in an imaginary plain and playing polo with an imaginary stick and an imaginary ball. 'Ahdī then went with the Ḥakīm to the Dakan, and nothing is known of him after the Ḥakīm's death, neither what happened to him nor whither he went.

The following verses are by him :—

A quatrain.

"Though the lip of my complaint was wet with blood,
The smoke from my heart arose from the chimney of my eyes,
My tears rained down sparks and fire,
My sighs kindled and became like a burning coal."

At the time when Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk departed from Lāhor and also (after a short time) from this world of wickedness and strife, the following quatrain, attributed to Ḥakīm Ṣanā'ī, was discussed :—

"Breathe once more, for thy Beloved is near thee,
And the bird of thy desire is near to the cage.
How long wilt thou say, 'I am far from my Beloved?'
Look within thyself, for the Friend is very near thee."[5]

[1] 'Ahdī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] *Vide* p. 229. [3] *Vide* p. 122, note 2.

[4] قاضي عهدي The sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92).

[5] This is a *Ṣūfī*-istic quatrain. Cf. St. Augustine, "*Ego multum erravi quaerens Te extra me, et Tu habitas in me.*"

Maḥvī composed the following quatrain :— 283

"Maḥvī, whose heart is near to all men,
Is near to the bud of the garden and to its thorns and rubbish.
For this reason he was not repulsed from the litter of the beloved,
That the sound of his weeping resembles the sound of its bell."

Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk composed the following in answer to both quatrains :—

"Since thy Beloved is near thee every moment,
Beware, for thy fire is near the dry grass!
O thou who hast fallen behind thy companions and lost the way
Hasten, for the sound of the caravan's bell is near."

Mullā 'Ahdī composed the following quatrain and also wrote it, as a keepsake, in my common-place book, and our companionship in prayer was changed for separation :

"The freedom of this caged bird is near at hand,
And this flame is near to the thorns and stubble,
Grief would fly from me with a thousand wings and pinions,
Did it but know with whom it consorted."

I wonder at my own hardness of heart seeing that I am able to sit and beat my breast with a stone in the absence of so many friends.

XCIII. 'Ināyatu-'llāh the Scribe.[1]

He is a Shīrāzī, and is now employed in the imperial library as 284
a librarian. He has a merry and nimble wit and occasionally writes poetry. The following verses are his :—

"I am fallen, like a helpless bird, into the cage
My broken heart is like a soundless bell.
Though I am more contemptible than an ant or a fly
I am suffocated by the straitness of the two worlds."

[1] 'Ināyatu-'llāh is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Another quatrain.

"We have learnt the way to a cure for ourselves,
We have heaped up the harvest of our transgressions,
We have kindled the fire of hell for ourselves,
We have consumed ourselves with the fire of our own sins."

Another quatrain.

"So long as the locks of the beautiful curl,
So long as the gestures and gait of the lovely are alluring,
So long as the arrow of the glance is in the brow of cruelty,
I die and live again each moment."

A couplet.

"There is no rose in the rose-garden of this world which is not tinged with the blood of some nightingale."

In describing a horse he has written:

"From his great pace as he gallops, his limbs
Close on one another like drops of water flowing together."

285 XCIV. 'URFĪ OF SHĪRAZ.[1]

He was a high-minded young man of sound understanding and he composed poetry of all kinds well, but he became so puffed up

[1] He is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 569), 'The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is mentioned as follows: 'He was a young man of genius and of excellent understanding, and composed all sorts of poetry well, but he developed so much pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all. He has composed a *dīvān* and some *maṣnavīs*.' He was the encomiast of Ḥakīm Abūl'-Fatḥ. That his poetry was highly regarded is evident from the following couplet by the great Persian poet Ṣā'ib, written on Naẓīrī:—

صائب چه خیالست شوي همچو نظیري عرفي بنظیري نرسانید سخن را

'Sā'ib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naẓīrī? Even 'Urfī has not written poetry like Naẓīrī's."

'Urfī's name was Khwāja Sayyidī Muḥammad Jamāl-ud-dīn, and his *takhallus* has reference to the occupation of his father, who, as *dārogha* to the magistrate of *Shīrāz*, was concerned both with the canon (شرعي) and the common (عرفي) law. He died at Lāhor in August, 1591, of dysentery, or, according to another account, of poison, at the age of thirty-six. His early death was ascribed to the abuse which he had heaped on the ancients. His odes have been several times lithographed.

with pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all, and he never reached old age. When he first came from his country to Fatḥpūr he attached himself to Shaikh Faiẓī above all others, and in truth, the Shaikh treated him well, and in this last journey he lived in the Shaikh's tents until the camp reached Atak, and was supplied with all the necessaries of life by the Shaikh, but at length, in accordance with the long-standing habit of the Shaikh, who is friendly with everybody for a week, a coolness sprang up between them, and 'Urfī attached himself to Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fatḥ, and afterwards, by means of a recommendation which he received from the Ḥakīm, to the Khānkhānān, with whom both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress daily. One day he went to Shaikh Faiẓī's house and found him fondling a puppy. 'Urfī asked, "What is the name of this child of my lord's?" The Shaikh replied, "His name is well-known (*'Urfī*)", and 'Urfī replied at once, "May it be auspicious."[1] The Shaikh was very angry, but to no purpose.

Both 'Urfī and Ḥusain Ṣanā'ī[2] have wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there is no street or market in which the booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the *dīvāns* of these two poets, and both Persians and Indians buy them as auspicious possessions, while it is quite otherwise with Shaikh Faiẓī, who has spent large sums from his *jāgīrs* in having

[1] 'Urfī's question is not quite so pointed in the original Persian, and might be rendered, 'What is the name of this highly-born one?' But the innuendo is perfectly clear. Faiẓī replies by giving 'Urfī's *nom-de-plume* to the unclean animal. 'Urfī's retort is one of the commonest expressions of politeness, but its mordant wit cannot be reproduced in a translation. In the original it is مبارک باشد (*mubārak bāshad*), i.e. 'may it be auspicious' or 'may it be *Mubārak*.' *Mubārak* was the name of Faiẓī's father. Faiẓī should have known better than to measure his wit with that of a Shīrāzī.

[2] *Vide* no. XXXI.

his works copied and illuminated, and nobody asks for them, the only copy for which he has had any sale being the solitary one which he himself sent abroad.

'The power of pleasing and grace of diction are gifts of God.'

'Urfī has a *dīvān* of his collected poems, and a *maṣnavī* in the metre of the *Makẖzan-i-Asrār*[2] which is known throughout the
286 world. The following few verses are quoted as a memorial of 'Urfī :—

A quatrain.

"On the morrow, when the workers of every craft shall be summoned,
When the good acts of Shaikh and Brahman shall be investigated,
There shall be taken from thee not a grain that thou hast reaped,
But for everything that thou hast not sown a harvest shall be required."

The following couplets are by him :—

"He who thirsts for the blandishments of thy lip knows
That the frown on thy forehead is a wave of the water of life."

———

"Nobody has been born who can bear the pain of love;
Every afflicted one has betrayed himself by changing colour as he told his story."

———

"As I sing of love I weep bitterly,
I am but an ignorant child and this is my first lesson."

[1] The text has كتاب (*kitāb*). The MSS., which I have followed, have كتابت (*kitābat*), which is a better reading.

[2] مخزن اسرار, 'treasury of secrets.' The famous *makẖzan-i-Asrār* here mentioned was by the well-known Persian poet Shaikh Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Niẓāmī of Ganja. 'Urfī's *maṣnavī* bore the same name.

"Step not beyond the bounds of ignorance, or else become a Plato,
A middle course is a *mirage* with raging thirst."[1]

The opening couplet of the ode from which the last couplet is taken is as follows :—

"My conversation in society consists of muttered speeches,
For here those reputed sensible are ignorant, and my speech is Arabic."

———

The following couplets are also by him :—

"How shall I endure my desire for my beloved, for, by the laws of love
A mere glance is disrespect and a thought of the beloved is derogatory to her."

———

"Of what pain has it been decreed by Time that I should die,
That the eyes of my soul have not gone forth to welcome?"

———

"I speak no word, for silence is better than speech, 287
I have no knowledge, for oblivion is better than knowledge."

———

"The *Ka'bah* would have circled round thy head and circumvolated[2] it
Had it had but pinions and wings"

[1] Cf. Pope—
A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring;
Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking deeply sobers it again."

[2] A clumsy word, but necessitated by the suggestion that the temple at Makkah should be endued with wings. The idea is that the ceremonial circumambulation performed by the pilgrims round the *Ka'bah* would be performed by the Ka'bah round the head of the beloved. *Vide* p 19, n. 4.

XCV. Ghaznavī.[1]

He is Mīr Muḥammad Khān-i-Kalān, who is well-known by reason of his high rank and position. His assemblies were always attended by learned men and poets. In spite of his constant employment in administrative business he found time occasionally to indulge in the customary recreation of writing verses, and collected a large *dīvān* of his poems. He used to say to the Emperor, 'The boast of your reign is this, that a man like me has lived in it.'

The following verses are his :—

"In my youth the flower of my age was passed in ignorance,
And what was left of it has been passed in repentance.
Young man, thou hast sown nothing but the seed of despair in the world,
Now the season of old age is come, and the time for tillage is past."

"Go Ghaznavī, associate with the dogs of the beloved,
Be content with a dry crust and make thyself independent of the world,
Take the crown of pride from thy head and pass beyond the stage of 'we' and 'I,'[2]

[1] The elder brother of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataga, A'ẓam Khān. He served under Kāmrān and Humāyūn and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. As governor of the Panjāb he distinguished himself in the war with the Gakkhars. Later he assisted Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul against Mīrzā Sulaimān and restored him to the throne of Kābul, but disagreements afterwards arose and Mīr Muḥammad returned to Lāhor. In the 13th year he and his relatives were removed from the Panjāb and he received Sambhal in *jāgīr*. In 1573 he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujarāt. On the march he was wounded near Sirohī, but recovered. After the conquest he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwāla) where he died in 1575. He was a commander of five thousand. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 322 and Badāonī, text, ii, 165 *et passim*.

[2] i.e. egoism.

Overthrow (in thy mind) the foundations of the kingdom of this world, like Ibrāhīm, the son of Adham.[1]
Withdraw thy notice from thyself and thy friends that thou may be at rest,
And if even the light of thy eyes should meet thee in the way, turn aside.

When he was governor of Sambhal he gave great vogue to the following ode of Shaikh Sa'dī[2] (may his tomb be hallowed) :— 288

"The heart which loves and is patient must surely be a stone,
For love and patience are a thousand leagues apart."

He himself wrote as follows :—

"When the cupbearer's cheek is rosy with wine,
Drink wine to the sound of the flute, for the heart is sad."

Mīr Amānī and other poets composed answers to these verses, in imitation of them, each according to his capacity and frame of mind, and one of them, the late Jamal Khān of Badāon, who was a constant and intimate companion of the Khān, and was unrivalled in wit, composed an ode of which the following was the opening couplet,

"Thy cheek is ever rosy with the wine of delight,
My heart, like a closed bud, is constricted with grief in meditating on thy mouth."

When I was in Kānt-u-Gola[3] in the service of Ḥusain Khān[4] this ode reached me one night in a letter from Miyān Jamāl

[1] I do not understand this reference. It cannot have anything do with Adham Khān, the murderer of Mīr Muḥammad's brother.

[2] Musharrif-ud-dīn Sa'dī bin Muṣliḥ-ud-dīn, of Shīrāz, one of the most famous of Persian poets

[3] Two adjacent *parganas* in the *Sarkār* of Badāon, usually mentioned together. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī* ii, 289.

[4] Ḥusain Khān *Tukriya* ('the patcher') 'the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign.' He acquired his nickname from his having, while governor of the Panjab, compelled Hindus to distinguish themselves by wearing a patch near the shoulders. He was a commander of three thousand. He died, of wounds, in A.D. 1575.

Khān and the next morning news came that he had been seized with colic in the place of public prayer in Sambhal on the *'Īd-i-Qurbān*,[1] and had sickened suddenly, and in the flower of his youth had surrendered his soul to God. His bier was brought into Badāon. Some mention has been made of this event in the record of the reign,[2] and besides (the chronograms there given)[3] the words 'Ah, Jamāl Khan has died!' were found to give the date of his death.

In these days[4] whom have the heavens seated in safety
Whose existence they did not cut short like the morning's light?

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XCVI. Ghubarī.[5]

He is Qāsim 'Ali, son of Ḥaidar the grocer, and was notorious for his pride and groundless vanity. He used to call himself a Quraishī[6] until it became generally accepted that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish. Whenever he was ashamed of the arrival of his father in any social gathering and lost his temper his father used to say,

[1] The festival of sacrifice, otherwise called عيد الضحا (*īd-ud-ḍuḥā*) celebrated on the tenth day of Zi-'l Ḥijjah in commemoration of Abraham's preparations for the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac, according to the Muḥammadans).

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 135.

[3] The other chronograms are—

صد آه از جواني و زيب جمال خان

'a hundred sighs for the beauty and grace of Jamal Khan

and

سپـــرده جان بروز عيـــد قـــربان

He gave up his life on the day of the festival of sacrifice'.

The one here given is آه جمال خان نمود

There is something wrong with these chronograms. The first gives the date 928, the second the date 967, and the third the date 977. The correct date is A.D. 978 (A.D. 1578).

[4] The text has آفتاب ('the sun'). I follow the reading of MS. (A) which has ابن زمانه, a much better reading

Ghubārī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[6] The Quraish is the Arabian tribe to which Muḥammad belonged,

'To spite you I will sit in the shop which I have in Agra, selling fruit and electuaries, and to everybody who comes to the shop whether he questions me or not, I will say, 'Let it be known that Qāsim 'Ali is my son, begotten by me. You may kill him if you like.'"

Somebody asked Ḥaidar how many sons he had; he replied, "Eight, the particulars are as follows:—

"Two are mine, and two are my wife's, and two belong to us both;
Two others there are which belong neither to my wife nor to me."[1]

Qāsim 'Ali was in his youth very handsome, and used to sing at social gatherings, and was then for some time servant[2] to the *Khalīfah* of the age (Akbar), became a man of some importance, and acquired the title of Khān,[3] and this case was an illustration of the remark made by a man when another said to him, "Have you heard that they have made so and so a Khan?" and he replied, "Well, the mannikin deserved it."

His manner of forming his letters and his handwriting were like those of the master of the world.[4] His unformed hand and his ill-formed letters are like those of boys, but in spite of that hand and those letters he has a childish confidence in himself.[5]

[1] *i.e.* Ḥaidar had two sons by another wife and his wife had two sons by another husband, and they had two dutiful sons of their marriage, and two more who were ashamed of their parents, and of whom their parents were ashamed.

[2] Literally, '*Khalifah* to the *Khalifah* of the age.' In India the word *Khalīfah* is applied to cooks and other menial servants. Badāonī's innuendo is susceptible of a very ill meaning.

[3] I do not think that Ghubārī can be the Qāsim 'Alī Khān mentioned on p. 465 of the Āīn (vol. i.) but he may have been.

[4] *Scil.* Akbar. As Badāonī is making a slighting remark on the Emperor's accomplishments he applies to him an unusual and ambiguous title, آقاي جهان.

[5] The words 'hand,' 'letters,' and 'confidence' are, in the original, diminutives which cannot be otherwise 'translated than by employing some such qualifying adjectives as I have used.

During my twenty-one years' acquaintance with Ghubārī he has been constantly engaged in taking lessons in (what may be called)
230 the middle standard,[1] and he used to compel his teachers to make obeisance to him, and if they did not consent to do so he would not come for his lesson, and in the lessons received under these unfortunate conditions he never progressed beyond the elements of accidence.[2] His taste in poetry may be estimated from the following verses:—

"I love water, and the bath is my place,
The bath-house is the house which is appropriated to me."

In imitation of the opening couplet which runs,

"I wish for one hair from the curled lock of my love.
That is to say, I am an idolator, and I wish for a sacred thread."

He wrote the following:—

"I wish to explain my grief to the dog of my love.
That is to say, I am grieved, and I wish to explain my grief."

The following verses are also by him:—

"From her eyes nothing but calamity reaches me.
Nobody has ever such calamity."

A quatrain.

"Everybody who is afflicted by love
Becomes acquainted with toil and grief;
Everybody who has found his way into love's circle
Revolves around calamity like a pair of compasses."

Ghubārī departed from this world, very unwillingly, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), and the chronogram found for his death consisted of the words, "Qāsim 'Alī Khān the fool."[3] Accord-

[1] سبق متوسط (*Sabaq-i-mutawassiṭ*) lessons learnt by boys not just learning to read and write, but in the middle classes in schools.

[2] وضع لمعنی مفرد "It is singular in meaning."

قاسم علي خان ابله. The letters give the date 1000.

ing to another account the year of his death was A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93), and if this be accepted as correct the word *jāhiḷ* ('ignorant') substituted for the word *abluh* ('fool') will give the correct 231
date.[1]

Since thou art ignorant grieve not if they call thee fool,
For these two expressions are[2] synonymous.

XCVII. Ghurbatī of Ḥiṣār.[3]

He has composed a *dīvān* and has studied to some extent. He used to tell the following story:—

I was once in an assembly convened for the ecstatic dancing[4] of *darvīshes* by that king of saints and greatest[5] of pious men, Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārazm (may God hallow his soul), and the chanters were chanting the following quatrain:—

"Throughout my life I have been one of those who wear my skin as Thy garment,
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy service in their ears,
If Thou showest me favour I am one of those who shout for joy of Thee,
And if Thou showest me none I am one of those who are silent for Thee."

And his holiness the Shaikh, on hearing the last verse, was seized with holy rapture, and an ecstasy that communicated itself to others,[6] so that I too, blessed by being in his company,

[1] The letters of ابله ('fool') give the total 38, and those of جاهل ('ignorant') 39. If, therefore, the latter word be substituted for the former in the chronogram given above the grand total will be 1001 instead of 1000.

[2] The text has عبارت دو نه یکدیگر است. To make sense we must read عبارت دو به یکدیگر است.

[3] Ghurbatī is not mentioned as a poet either in the Āīn or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Ḥiṣār Fīrūza was the chief town of a *sarkār* in the Ṣūba of Dihlī, and is now the headquarters of a district in the Panjāb.

[4] سماع *vide* p. 9, and note 1.

[5] ختم, literally 'seal.'

[6] تواجد

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[4] سماع *vide* p. 9, and note 1.

[5] ختم, literally 'seal.'

[6] تواجد

experienced holy rapture, and, springing up from my place as one beside himself, uttered the following couplet:—

"Whether Thou showest me favour or whether Thou showest it not
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy service in their ears."

His holiness the Shaikh seized me by the hand and whirled me round with him, and the delight of that moment never leaves my heart.[1]

He died in Āgra, in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Farīd's College, in A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558-59).

The following opening couplet of one of his odes is well known:

"The mouth of my Friend last night told me a secret mystery,
'I am the fountain of the water of life, and thou knowest it not.'"

292 The following verses are also by him:—

"Why does not fate shed my blood where thou art not?
It would seem that this is beyond the power of fate."

The words which fell from her lips were brief, and I could not understand them,
The down around her lips is a marginal commentary[2] brief enough.

In travelling the road of love for thee I arrived at no stage
At which I did not find that the pain of love for thee had preceded me."

[1] This story gives us an interesting picture of a form of worship which commends itself to the mystics of the East, and which is not without its counterpart in 'revival meetings' nearer home, and 'camp meetings' in the far West.

[2] حاشیہ (*hāshiyah*) means 'a fringe,' 'a margin,' 'a marginal commentary,' but it is impossible in a translation to reproduce the play on this word and on e two meanings of خط (Khaṭṭ), viz:—'writing' and 'down on the cheek.'

XCVIII. Ghairatī of Shīrāz.[1]

He spent some time in India and returned to Shīrāz. The following verses are some of his:—

"I would not consent to the slaying of others, for I know
That death has taken the bitterness of death from the dagger of my executioner."

"Devotee, the knot in the string of thy rosary cannot be loosed without sincerity:
Go and for a time convert thy rosary into the sacred thread of the fire-worshippers."

"A pleasant country is the street of love,
For there all the malice of the heavens is changed to kindness."

"I am slain by the dagger of that slayer who so shed my blood
That not one drop of it fell on the ground"

XCIX. Fārighī of Shīrāz.[2]

He was the brother of Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh,[3] who has already been mentioned. When he came for the first time to Hindūstān Bairam Khān the Khankhānān asked him, as Farighī was the poetical name of the well-known Shaikh 'Abdul Wajd of Khavaf to whom he was closely bound in the bonds of friendship and religious dependence, to change his poetical name to Fā'iqī. He used this name for some time, but when he returned to 'Irāq 293
he reverted to the use of his former *nom-de-plume*. He then came to Hindūstān a second time, and died here. His son, Mīr Taqī, was another Shāh Fathu-'llah in his knowledge of astronomy and astrology, and I presented to him a part of twenty chapters

[1] The very brief description of Ghairatī given in the *Ṭabaqāt* is word for word the same as that given here. In the *Āīn* (i, 594) he is thus described, "His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past"

[2] Fārighī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'Mīr Fārighī is the brother of Mīr Fatḥu-'llah of Shīrāz. He was for a long time in the Emperor's service."

[3] *Vide* p. 216.

which I had written on the astrolabe. He was a man of noble disposition and high aspirations, and his brother, Mir Sharīf, had many excellences and perfections. Mīr Taqī used to say that in his family he and his brother, with their uncle, Shāh Fatḥu-'llāh, were the only ones that held the *Sunnī* faith, all the others being bigoted *Shī'ahs*. The following verses are by Mīr Fārighī:—

"Well is it for me that in accordance with thy promise happy in my abode of toil

"I sit, glancing ever and again expectantly at the door."

"To such a point does love at length bring intimate association with the beloved
That the lover finds himself a stranger to separation."

"On the humble body of Majnūn no scar was visible;
For the footprint of Lailā's camel was impressed on him."

"The festival time has arrived and I am constantly anxious,
Hoping, O Lord, that I may have speech with her, in order to offer my congratulations."

"So frequently has the country of my heart been ravaged by the army of thy love
That the caravan of patience never unfastens its burdens there."

"Love's madness can easily unfasten those knots in love's bonds
Which wisdom, with all its pretensions, cannot, with countless efforts, unfasten."

"Fārighī has girded up his loins in the service of that lovely one on the condition
That he never, until the day of resurrection, unfastens from his waist the sacred thread of idolatry."

"In her absence, O death, I have put up with my life,
But now I can no longer sit patiently waiting for thee"

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in praise of his holiness our sponsor the eighth *Imām*, Riza' (blessings and praise be upon him!):—

"When the money-changer of the recurring morn opened his shop
He exchanged every copper coin that he had for a piece of gold."

C. Fahmī of Ṭihrān.[1]

He had travelled much and seen the world. He came to Hindūstān and then returned to his own country. He had some poetical genius. The following verses are his:—

"I wish that the flame of love may so strike my grief-nurturing body
That, while I weep from its burning, water may fall on my ashes."

"I will give rest to my heart by patiently bearing her message,
Though this (rest) is an impossibility to which I can never attain."

"Go, speak not of love's burning pain till the last trump shall sound,
For this world is nothing but a house of mourning."

CI. Fahmī of Samarqand.[2]

He is the son of Nādirī of Samarqand. He was a jovial man, and expert at composing enigmas. He came to India and then returned again to his own country. The following verses are his:

"Since the tavern-keeper[3] described to me the properties of wine,
My repentance of my repentance passes description."

1 In the *Ṭabaqāt* it is recorded that he was with the Khān-i-A'ẓam, but, as no date is given, it is not certain whether the reference is to Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ataga Khān or to his son Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, both of whom held the title. The latter is probably intended. In the Āīn (1, 599) Fahmi is described as 'of Rai,' but this Fahmī is identified as Fahmī of Tihrān by a couplet ascribed to him by Abū-'l-Faẓl which is also ascribed to him by Daghistānī and in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

2 Fahmī of Samarqand is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

3 Literally, 'the chief priest of the magians.'

"When I saw her dark hair forming a garment round her body
295 I believed it to be the garment of the holy pilgrimage and wound it round myself."

CII. Fikrī.[1]

He is Sayyid Muḥammad, the cloth weaver, well known as Mīr Rubā'ī. In this description of poetry he is the 'Umar Khayyām of the age. He left this world in the course of the journey to Jaunpūr,[2] in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66), and the words 'Mīr Rubā'ī made a journey,[3] were found to give the date of his death.

A quatrain.

"Fikrī has a head which is unfurnished with contents,
He has at his heart a secret pain for which there is no remedy.
For an age he has made his head his feet on the road of love,
He has set out on a road which has no ending."

As his verses are very well known I shall conclude by quoting the following few quatrains and a couplet which are attributed to him:—

"O heart, though thy love be a warrior, fear not,
Though her business be oppression and mortal enmity, fear not,

[1] Fikrī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*. "He is Sayyid Muḥammad the cloth weaver. He spent many years in the service of the Emperor. He is distinguished for his quatrains, since he was always writing quatrains, and he is also known as *Rubā'ī* ('quatrain')." In the *Āīn* (i, 602) he is thus described: "He is a cloth weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes quatrains." According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he came to India in A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62).

[2] Akbar was directing the campaign against the Khānzamān in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur during the cold weather of 1565-66. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 82—84.

[3] مير رباعي سفر نمود The sum of the numerical values of the letters gives the date 973.

In the army of her beauty her two eyes are warriors,
For the rest, the down on her cheek and her mole are the dark colour of the host.

"If one will not, like the sun, suffer the sword to be raised above his head
The sky shall not be clad from head to foot in gold for him:
If the gardener will not endure the hardships of the thorn,
He shall receive into his bosom no loved one in rosy garments like a bud."

"On the morrow, when nothing shall remain of this world 296
but a tale,
When signs shall appear of the Resurrection's spring,
The beloved ones shall raise their heads from the dust-like verdure,
And we too shall raise our heads in courtship."

"Thou goest with thy locks dark as night, and like dew on every side
Salt (wit) rains from thee, alas for wounded hearts!"

CIII. Fanā'ī.[1]

He is a Caghatāi of noble descent. He has travelled much and has acquired honour by visiting the holy places of pilgrimage (Makkah and Madīnah). He has performed notable services in the field and at one time held the title of Khān, but on account of some misconduct he was degraded from that rank. One day

[1] This poet appears to be identical with Shāh Fanā'ī, mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 426) as a commander of one thousand. He served in the conquest of Malwa and fought in the battle of Sārangpūr against Bāz Bahādur, early in A.D. 1561. The poet Fanā'ī described in the *Ṭabaqāt* is undoubtedly the same person, for the couplet there attributed to him is one of those here, attributed to him by Badāoni, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, 'He is Mullā Khwurd, the goldsmith, who has spent all his life in this court. He was at first in the service of Mīrzā 'Askarī.' 'Askarī Mīrzā was one of the brothers of the Emperor Humāyun, and was consequently Akbar's uncle.

he said, 'Nobody has excelled me in these three *shīns*[1], *Shamshīr* ('the sword'), *shi'r* ('poetry'), and *shaṭranj* ('chess').' The Emperor at once replied, 'The same might be said of two other *shīns*, *shaiṭānī* ('devilry') and *shaṭṭāḥī*[2] ('effrontery').' Fanā'ī spent some time in prison, and when he was released he was seized with madness, which, taking him by the hand, led him away into some wilderness, whither, nobody knows. He has written a *dīvān* and his poetry is of the character of that of the debauched Caghatāī nobles. The following couplet is by him,

"Every one attains his object by his nightly cries of 'O Lord, O Lord!'
O Lord! Why do not I attain my object by my cries of 'O Lord!'"

The following opening couplet also, which I have borne in my mind for the last fifty years, and which is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-*
297 *Niẓāmī*,[3] is by him:—

"I say not that I have a house worthy to be honoured by thy footsteps,
I am a stranger, and humble, and have but a waste corner."

(The following is another opening couplet.)

"Whilst thy rosy face blossomed above the rosy wine
The wine blossomed in the cup from the reflection of thy rosy face."

CIV. Fusīnī of Yazd.[4]

He is a Sayyid, a story-teller, and has a mind adapted to

[1] The three words begin with the letter ش (*shīn*) as do also the two words added to them by Akbar.

[2] This word is not in the text, but both MSS. have it. It may perhaps have been an afterthought of some scribe, but is very applicable to the boastful Fanā'ī.

[3] *Scil.* The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, by Niẓāmu-'dīn-Aḥmad.

[4] Fusūnī is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. In the *Āīn* he is called a Shīrazī, while Dāghistānī and the *Ātashkada-i Āzar* say that he came from Tabrīz. Dāghistānī adds that he served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as a *mustaufi*. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions a Fusunī who was an *amīr* in

poetry. He came from Ṭhaṭha[1] and obtained a post in the Emperor's service. The following verses are by him:—

"Why didst thou needlessly pass by the unworthy?
And, if it was necessary to pass by him, why didst thou glance towards him?
Thou wert in talk with a stranger, and, when thou sawest me from afar,
If thou didst not completely veil thyself from me why didst thou draw thy veil but a little?"

———

"When I arrived, and thou wert in talk with a stranger,
Thou didst distract his attention, and then glance covertly towards me."

———

"Fusūnī made his obeisance to thee merely to deceive others,
Had it not been for this such a worthless wretch would have been unworthy of making his obesiance."

———

"When she had, after making a thousand promises, shown me her face but once,
She then, for fear of strangers, showed it but for a moment and went."

———

"He who is slain by the glance of the beloved closes not his eyes,
As he draws his last breath he is dazzled by the face of his slayer."

CV. Fīrūza of Kābul.[2]

He was brought up in the household of Mīrzā Muḥammad

Jahāngīr's reign and had the title of Afẓal Khān. In the *Āīn* (i, 604) Fusūnī is thus described, 'His name is Maḥmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant and knows also astronomy well.'

[1] The well-known town in Sind.

[2] Fīrūza is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 526) as a commander of two hundred. He came from Kābul to India with Ghāzī Khān of Badakhshān in the early years of Akbar's reign.

Ḥakīm.[1] By birth he belongs to the Langāh[2] clan. It seems
298 probable that he was captured by a soldier in some of the wars in Hindūstān and was placed in the service of the late Emperor, and was then brought up with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He is somewhat studious, in a desultory manner, and is moderately skilled in penmanship. He has a general knowledge of music, and can beat the drum after a fashion.[3] In body he is well proportioned. He came to court and paid his respects, with Qāẓī Khān of Badakhshān, between Jaunpūr and Āgra, when the Emperor was returning from his expedition to Patna. Although he does not study assiduously he is naturally somewhat ready in etymology, and it gradually becomes evident that he has understood the whole drift of any stiff argument.

The following verses are his:—

"Thou hast made a stranger the object of thy regard.
What means this?
Thou hast cast out the slave from thy regard. What means this?
I have seen nobody in this age to equal thee in beauty and grace.
But thou hast destroyed the value of beauty. What means this?"

———

"What remedy is there but death for this sick body?
Go, physician, waste not thy pains on me."

———

Nowadays it is reported that he boasts that he has written answers[4] to most of the odes in the *dīvāns* of ancient and modern

[1] King of Kābul, second son of Humāyūn and brother of Akbar.

[2] An Afghān clan, six members of which ruled in Multān as independent kings for ninety-two years from A.D. 1445. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* ii, 324.

[3] Badāonī certainly seems to be damning Fīrūza with faint praise, but playing the drum is more highly regarded in the east than it is in Europe. Drums, which are of several sizes and shapes, are carefully tuned, and are usually played with the fingers and the heel of the hand, with a certain amount of expression.

[4] An 'answer' to a poem is a poem imitating the original in metre and

poets. As to what he has discovered from these sources it may perhaps become more generally known than it is at present.

CVI. Fahmī of Astarābād.

He was a capable man. He died in Dihlī. The following quatrain is by him:—

"O thou whose face is bathed in rose water,
With ringlets curling around it like wreathed violets, 299
Thy eyes are like two beauties overcome with wine on one pillow
Who have laid their heads together and are fallen asleep."

Couplets.

"In these days freedom from care has become no more than a tale,
Whither shall I go? What shall I do? The times are very evil."

———

"The piteous state of the faithful is caused by thy cruelty.
Remove the sword, for their blood is on thy head."

CVII. Shaikh Faiẓī, the Poet Laureate.[1]

In many separate branches of knowledge, such as poetry, the composition of enigmas, prosody, rhyme, history, philology,

rhyme, and either elaborating the ideas of the original, or introducing fresh ideas on the same subject.

[1] Literally ملک الشعراء (*maliku-sh-shu'arā*) 'King of poets,' the official title given to him by Akbar in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589).

Shaikh Abū'l Faiz Faiẓī, one of the most learned men of Akbar's court, was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nagor, and elder brother of the famous Abū-l-Faẓl. He was born at Āgra in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). His acquirements in Arabic literature, the art of poetry, and medicine were very extensive, and he used to treat poor people *gratis*. As a young man he was regarded with suspicion and ill-treated by the orthodox in Āgra on account of his *Shī'ah* proclivities, and when he was summoned to court the orthodox believed, or affected to believe, that he was to be called to account for his heterodoxy, and carried him to court by force. He was however, very

medicine, and prose composition Shaikh Faiẓī had no equal in his time. At first he used to write under his well-known poetical

favourably received by Akbar, and in a short time became his constant companion and friend. He was instrumental, in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79), in bringing about the downfall of Shaikh'Abdu-n-Nabī the *Ṣadr*, who had been one of his persecutors. It is said that Faiẓī wrote a hundred and one books. In 1586 he planned a *Khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī. The first, *Markazu-l-Adwār*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be an imitation of Nīẓāmī's *Makhzanu-l-Asrār*. The *Sulaimān-u-Bilqīs* and the *Nal-u-Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each and were to be imitations of the *Khusrav-u-Shīrīn* and the *Laīlā-u-Majnūn*; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond with the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. This great undertaking was never completed. Portions were written, and in 1594-95 Faiẓī, encouraged by Akbar, completed the *Nal-u-Daman* and presented a copy to the Emperor. The *Markazu-l-Adwār* appears also to have been completed. Faiẓī translated from the Sanskṛt the *Līlavatī*, a work on arithmetic, and the *Bhāgavad Gīta*. Faiẓī was sometimes employed as tutor to the Princes, and sometimes acted as an ambassador. He suffered from asthma and died on Ṣafar 10, A.H. 1004 (Oct. 15, 1595). He was a member of Akbar's 'divine faith.' Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490 *et passim* and Badaoni, vol. ii, text, pp. 260 309, 365, *et passim*.

A long description of Faiẓī as a poet is given in the *Āīn* (i, 549) from which I give the following extracts:—'He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the Emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world.* * He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Faiẓī, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyāẓī.* * His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius.* * He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām* (*vide* p. 194 n. 1)* * Genius as he was, he did not care for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy.* * The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described, "He is one of the greatest of learned men and Shaikhs and is much respected for his resignation to the Divine will and for his habits of solitary meditation. He has grown to maturity in the Emperor's service and has been honoured with the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*. In the art of poetry he is a prodigy, and he has written a work on ethics, entitled *Mawāridu-l-Kilam*, which contains no dotted letters, and he has also written a commentary on the word of God, which contains no dotted letters. It is known as the *Sawāṭi'u-'l-Ilhām*. His *dīvān* contains over 15,000 verses and he has written some

name of Faiẓī, but later, imitating the title of his younger brother, whom the Emperor describes in writing as '*Allāmī*', and in order to glorify himself, he chose a poetical name in the same measure, viz. Fayyāẓī,[2] but it did not suit him, and one or two months later, having packed up the baggage of this life, he took it from the world with the most bitter regret. He was a master[3] of malevolent activity, idle jests, conceit, pride, and malice, and one epitome of hypocrisy, baseness, dissimulation, love of pomp, arrogance, and ostentation. All Jews, Christians, Hindūs, and fire-worshippers, not to speak of Nizārīs and Sabāḥīs, held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers of Islām, his reviling of the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions (of the Prophet) and those who came after them, and of holy Shaikhs, both dead and living, and of his unmannerly and contemptuous behaviour towards all learned, pious, and excellent men, both in 300
secret and openly, and both by day and by night. Not content with this he used, despite the sacred faith of Muḥammad (may God bless and assoil him and his family), to regard all forbidden

maṣnavis. In poetry he is the chief of all poets of the age, and in prose composition he is alone and unapproachable. In branches of knowledge foreign to the Arabic, and in philosophy, medicine and many other sciences he has much skill. In universality of knowledge he has no equal. I have enjoyed intimate friendship with this most learned man of the time from my childhood up. His gentle disposition is equalled by his cheerfulness. His angelic nature imposes an obligation on all his contemporaries."

1 علّامي 'my very learned man,' a title bestowed on Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl by Akbar.

2 فيض فيّاضي signifies 'abundance'; with the *yā-yi-nisbatī* added to it, as is usual in a *takhallus*, it becomes فيضي. فيّاض is an intensive adjective formed in the same measure as علّام, from the same root, and signifies 'profusely generous.' The *yā yi-nisbatī* converts it into a *takhallus*. The letter ي (*yā*) in 'Allāmī is, on the other hand, the sign of the first (singular) possessive pronoun in Arabic.

3 خيلا (*Khayulā*). The word has perplexed the editor of the text, who says, in a plaintive footnote, *Sic*, in all three MSS.

things as lawful, and all the injunctions of the sacred law as unlawful, and, with a view to washing away the stain of his ill-repute, which the waters of a hundred oceans (poured over it) till the day of judgment will not wash away, he used, in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure,[1] to write a commentary[2] on the *Qur'ān*, written entirely in words which contained no dotted letter, and his dogs[3] used to trample on it in all directions. At last, after all his denial of the truth, his obstinacy, his pride, and his heresy, he hastened to the place to which he belonged, and went in such sort that I pray that nobody may see or hear of the like. When the Emperor went to visit him when he was at his last gasp, Faiẓī barked like a dog in his face, and the Emperor used to relate this story in open *darbār*, his face was swollen and his lips had become black, so that the Emperor asked Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl what caused this blackness of the lips and suggested that Faiẓī had rubbed *misī*[4] on his teeth, as the people of India use to do, but Abū-l-Faẓl replied that this was not so, and that the blackness was caused by the blood which Faiẓī had been vomiting. But, without a doubt, the sufferings which he had already endured were very little considered with reference to his vice, his abuse of the faith, and his revilings of his holiness the last of the Prophets (may God bless him and his family, all of them). Many abusive chronograms were discovered for the date of his death. One was as follows:—

"When Faiẓī the atheist died an eloquent man uttered (as the date of his death) the words,

'A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state'"[5]

[1] جنابت. 'Vir de quo egreditur semen coitus, lavabit aqua omne corpus suum; et immundus erit usque ad vesperum' Lev xv. 16. The Muhammadan law on this point was the same as the Mosaic. The obligation was contemptuously set aside by the 'divine faith': *vide* Badāonī, ii, text p. 305.

[2] The *Sawāṭi'u-l-Ilhām*, *vide supra* p. 194 and note 412.

[3] Faiẓī was very fond of dogs.

[4] A dentifrice used in India for blackening the teeth.

[5] سكي از جهان رفته بحال قبيح. 60+20+10+1+7+3+5+1+50+200+80+400+5+2+8+1+30+100+2+10+8=1003. One year short.

Another said:

"The date of the death of that carrion Faiẓī is fixed by the words 'The four religions of fire.'"[1]

Another found the following chronogram:—

"Faiẓī the inauspicious, the enemy of the Prophet,
Went, bearing on him the brand of curses,
He was a miserable and hellish dog, and hence
The words 'what dog-worshipper has died'[2] give the date of his death."

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In the same strain was the chronogram:

"The laws of apostasy have been overthrown."[3]

And another wrote: "Faiẓī was an apostate."[4]

And to the same effect is the following:—

"Since he could not choose but go, there is no help but that
The date of his death shall be found in the words, 'He is for ever in fire.'"[5]

He wrote poetry for a period of exactly forty years, but it was all imperfect. He could set up the skeleton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them, and the salt[6] of his poetry was entirely without savour. His taste in lewd raving, in boastful verse,[7] and in infidel scribblings, is well known, but he was

[1] بچار مذهب نار 2+3+1+200+40+700+5+2+50+1+200=1204. This chronogram gives two hundred years in excess. Badāonī perhaps thought that any stick was good enough to beat a dog with. The 'four religions of fire' were probably Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, the 'divine faith' of Akbar being, perhaps, substituted for one of these.

[2] چه سگ پرستي مرد 3+5+60+20+2+200+60+400+10+40+200+4=1004.

[3] قاعدهٔ الحاد شكست 100+1+70+4+5+1+30+8+1+4+300+20+60+400=1004.

[4] بود فيضي ملحدي 2+6+4+80+10+800+10+40+30+8+4+10=1004

[5] خالد في النار 600+1+30+4+80+10+1+30+50+1+200=1007. Three years in excess.

[6] مصالح (*Maṣāliḥ*) 'Spices,' 'flavouring materials.'

[7] فخريات (*faḵriyyāt*) Verses boasting of their own accomplishments in

entirely devoid of any experience of the love of truth, of the knowledge of God, and of any idea of a painful longing for God; and "a favourable reception is the lot of enemies." Although his *dīvān* and his *maṣnavī* contain more than twenty thousand couplets there is not among them one couplet that is not as much without fire as his withered genius, and they are despised and rejected to such an extent that no one, even in lewdness, studies his verse, as they do those of other base poets.

"Verse which is wholly devoid of pith
Remains, for all time, a rough draft."

And this is stranger still, that although he has spent the whole revenue of his *jāgīrs* in having his misleading lies written and copied, and has sent copies of them to all his friends, both far and near, nobody has ever taken a copy in his hand a second time.

Thy poetry has doubtless taken a lesson from the dignity of the veil,
For it displays no desire to come out of its private corner in the house.

The following few couplets are taken from his selected poems which he wrote as memorials of himself, and entrusted to Mirzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others:—

"Cover not thy eyelashes[1] when thy eyes travel, like feet, (the road of love)
For stout wayfarers march with naked feet."

302 "Why dost thou cut my hand, thou sword of love? If justice is to be done
Cut out the tongue of the slanderer of Zulaikhā."

"When we cast our bounteous glance on those who sit in the dust
We distribute even to ants brains like those of Solomon."

"The flood of my tears will hardly turn thy heart of stone:
To turn this mill-stone the flood of Noah is required."

poetry are a favourite form of composition among Persian poets, and especially among Indian poets writing in Persian.

[1] *i.e.* 'Veil not thyself.'

"O love, overthrow not the *Ka'bah*, for there, for a moment,
Those exhausted in the faith of love sometimes take rest."

"O love, have I leave to remove from the shoulder of the sky
To my own shoulder the banner of thy power?"

"How long shall I stake my heart on the blandishments of the fair?
I will burn this heart and obtain a new heart.
Faiẓī, my hand is empty, and the road of courtship is before me,
Perhaps I shall be able to pledge my *dīvān* for this world and the next."

The following is the opening couplet of a boastful ode, of which he was very proud:—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide.
I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the fire-worshippers."

The following couplet is also by him:—

"In this land there is a sugar-lipped multitude
Who have mixed salt with their wine and are drunk indeed."
(Poet) say thyself in what part of this poetry there is any savour.

The following couplets are from the *Maṣnavī Markaz-i-Adwār* 303 which he wrote in imitation of the *Makhzan-i-Khiyāl*[1] and which did not turn out fortunately for him:—[2]

"To beg[3] for what aid I come to this door,
That I have become richer in heart and hand?

[1] This is a mistake. The *Markazu-'l-Adwār* was written in imitation of Niẓāmī's *Makhzanu-'l-asrār*, *vide supra* p. 412 n. 1.

[2] By this expression Badāonī appears to mean merely that he did not live to finish it.

[3] دریوزه in the text. The MSS. have دریوزه. The difference affects neither the meaning nor the scansion.

I asked for little, but my stock increased
Then, though I sat down, my footsteps advanced."

The following couplets are from his projected[1] *maṣnavī*, *Bilqīs-u-Sulaimān*:—

"I set myself again to place
The slit of my pen opposite to the window of my heart:
There comes from that window and enters this window[2]
That very light which serves as a guide to the soul,
Although from this court of injustice
The throne of the Sulaimān of my words[3] has gone on the breeze,
Yet it occurred to me to consider a plan
Whereby, by means of spells, I might bind the demons in chains,[4]
Bind them, by what means I have, to the throne of my rhetoric,
And adorn that (throne) from the treasures of my mind."

The following is an enigma which he composed on the name of Qādirī,:—[5]

"I will leave the mark from love's brand
Since it is a memorial in my heart, and is the only scar there."

When he was absent as an envoy in the Dakan I sent him two letters from the lower slopes of the Kashmīr mountains, informing him of the Emperor's disfavour towards me and of his refusal to admit me to his presence in order that I might pay my respects. In the petition which Faiẓī sent to court he recommended me to the Emperor's favour and Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl was ordered to embody that petition in the *Akbarnāma* in order that it might be read as an example of what such documents should be. The following is a copy of that petition, which was dated on the 10th day of the month *Jamādīu-l-Awwal*, A.H. 1000 (February 23, 1592), and despatched from Aḥmadnagar to Lāhor:—

'Refuge of the world! There lately came to me from Badāon two relatives of Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir, in a very disturbed state of mind, weeping, weeping and tortured by anxiety. They told me that Mullā 'Abd-l Qādir had for some time been sick, and had been unable to keep his promise to attend at court, that some 304
of the Emperor's officers had carried him off with force and violence,[1] and that they did not know what the end of the matter would be. They also said that the long duration of his sickness had not been reported to your majesty. Cherisher of the broken spirited! Mullā 'Abdu-'l-Qādir has much aptitude, and he has studied what the *Mullās* of Hindūstān usually study in the ordinary branches of learning. He acquired accomplishments under my honoured father, and I, your slave, have known him for nearly thirty-eight years. In addition to his acquirements in learning he has some skill in poetry, and good taste in prose composition, both Arabic and Persian. He has also acquired some knowledge of Indian astrology, and of accounts, in all their branches. He is acquainted with Indian and foreign music, and by no means ignorant of chess, both the two-handed and the four-handed game,[2] and has some practice in playing the *bīn*.[3] In spite of all these acquirements he is endued with many virtues. He is not avaricious, has a contented mind, is not vacillating, is truthful, straightforward, respectful, unambitious, humble-spirited, meek,

[1] موهوم (*mauhūm*) 'imaginary.' The meaning may perhaps be that the poem was the work of Faiẓī's imagination, but I believe my translation to be correct. The poemwas never finished. *Vide* p. 412 n. 1.

[2] *i.e.* the light is conveyed from the window of the poet's heart to the nibs of his pen, the slit between which is compared to another window.

[3] *i.e.* the poet's words of wisdom.

[4] As Sulaimān is said to have done.

[5] The meaning of the passage may be, "an enigma which he addressed to Qādirī." I have not been able to solve the enigma.

[1] بشدّت تمام (*bi-shiddat-i-tamām*). MS. (A) substitutes شرارت (*sharārat*) 'malice' for شدّت.

[2] Akbar himself played both games. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 308.

[3] The *bīn* is a stringed instrument consisting of a narrow strip of wood connecting, and placed over the openings of, two dried gourds, spherical, or nearly so, in shape. Along the wooden bridge are stretched five or seven steel strings, which are played with a plectrum.

moderate in his requests, almost entirely devoid of the dissimulation so common at court, and entirely faithful and devoted to the Imperial Court. When the imperial forces were sent against Kūmbhulmer[1] he, having requested permission to accompany them, went thither in the hope of offering his life to your majesty, and was in action and was wounded, and when the fact was reported he received a reward. Jalāl Khān Qūrcī[2] first presented him at court, and said, when presenting him: "I have discovered for your majesty an *Imām*[3] with whom you will be well pleased. Mīr Fatḥu-'llāh[4] also acquainted your sacred majesty, to some extent, with his affairs, and my respected brother[5] is also aware of his circumstances; but it is well known that 'a grain of luck is better than a load of merit."

Since your majesty's court is the court of the just, your slave, acting as though he were present in person at the foot of the august throne, when he saw a helpless man suffering persecution, has represented the case to your majesty. Had he not represented it at this time he would, in a manner, have been guilty
305 of insincerity and want of proper regard for the truth. May God (who is praised) deign to keep the slaves of your majesty's court constant in the path of truth, justice, and righteous dealing under the heavenly shadow of your majesty, their Emperor; and may He long maintain your majesty as their shelter, the cherisher of the miserable, the bestower of favours, the coverer of faults, with boundless wealth, glory, greatness and majesty, by the honour of the pure ones who dwell in the courts of God and the enlightened ones who rise betimes to praise him. Amen. Amen.

[1] This place, the name of which is variously spelt by Badāonī, is Kūmbhalgaṛh, a fortress on the western border of the Udaipūr State in Rajputāna, about 40 miles north of Udaipūr city. *Vide* text, vol. ii, pp. 227, 266. It was in April 1576 that Badāonī asked for and obtained leave to accompany this expedition.

[2] Jalāl Khān Qūrcī was a commander of five hundred. He distinguished himself in the field and Akbar was much attached to him. He was murdered, in mistake for Shimāl Khān, early in 1576. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* i, 475.

[3] The reader and leader of prayers in the *musjid*.

[4] *Vide* p. 216. [5] Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl.

If any should ask me what rules of humanity and faithfulness I observe in so harshly reviling one who had so much goodwill for me and so much sincere friendship, and especially how it is that I, forgetful of the command, 'Mention not your dead but in connection with good,' have thus written of a man after his death, and have become one of those who disregard their obligations, I reply, 'All this is true, but what could I do?' The claims of the faith and the safeguarding of one's compact with God are above all other claims, and 'Love is God's and hatred is God's' is an established precept. Although I was for full forty years in the company of Faiẓī, yet after the gradual change in views, the corruption of his nature, and the disordering of his disposition and especially in his mortal sickness, our relations were changed, and as our association together became mere hypocrisy we were freed each of the other. All of us have our faces set towards that court where all disputes shall be decided. "On that day the intimate friends shall be enemies to one another, except the pious."[1]

Among the property left by Faiẓī were four thousand six hundred valuable bound books, all corrected, of which it might have been said with but little exaggeration that most of them were either in the handwriting of the authors or had been written in the authors' time. These became the property of the Emperor, and when they were presented before him he caused them to be catalogued in three sections, giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music; the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism,[2] astronomy, and geometry; and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions,[3] books on theology, and on all other subjects connected with the sacred law.[4]

[1] الأخلاء يومئذ بعضهم لبعض عدو إلا المتقين *Qur'ān*, c. xliii The text has المتقون.

[2] تصوّف (*taṣawwuf*), the doctrines of the *Ṣūfis*.

[3] حديث (*ḥadīth*), the sayings of Muḥammad.

[4] The classification indicates Akbar's contempt for orthodoxy, and evidently much shocked Badāonī's prejudices.

Faiẓī wrote a hundred and one books, the *Nal-u-Daman*[1] and others, which he used to reckon. When he was near death he wrote, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, some couplets in praise of the Prophet (may God bless and assoil him), and of his ascent,[2] and incorporated them in the *Nal-u-Daman*. The following couplets are taken from the conclusion of that work:—

"O King of Kings,[3] who seekest after wisdom,
Wealthy as the sea and glorious as the sky,
The world is a banquet linked with joy,
Thy reign is the wine, which stupefies the heavens;
I am the minstrel singing melodies drawn from the veins of my heart,[4]
My pen is the sounding organ.
If from this banquet, in which thy conversation is the cup-bearer,
I arise, my song will still remain.
The drinkers circulate the tale
That there is no[5] singer, and yet the assembly is full of song.

1 The text is corrupt here, and reads as though there were a hundred and one books of the *Nal-u-Daman*, which was not the case. From other sources, e.g. the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam*, we know that Faiẓī was credited with the authorship of a hundred and one books in all. The *Nal-u-Daman* is the story of the loves of Nala, king of Nishada or Mālwa, and Damayanti, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, or Berar. Faiẓī's source of inspiration was the *Mahābhārata*, where the story is given at length.

2 معراج (*mi'rāj*). According to the belief of Musalmāns Muḥammad was caught up one night from Jerusalem to heaven, his means of conveyance being *Buzāq*, an animal smaller than a mule and larger than an ass. While in heaven he held 90,000 conversations with God, but on his return found his bed yet warm. This belief was one of those selected for ridicule by Akbar and the followers of the 'divine faith,' *vide* text, vol. ii, p. 316. If Faiẓī's recantation were genuine it must be regarded as, in some sort, a triumph for orthodoxy.

3 Akbar.

4 Literally 'bloody melodies' (*pardahā-yi-khūnī*). I believe the meaning to be that which I have given.

5 The text has, wrongly, هست 'thou art not' (a singer). From the scansion it is clear that the simple negative (نه) is the correct reading.

To-day, with my honey-sweet music
I am Bārbud,[1] thou the Khusrav of the age.
Though I have polished my pen on the heavens
I am standing before thee on one leg.[2]
Look now on the arrangement of my mystical characters
And now on my long years spent in thy service.
This poem, which bears on its tongue the name of love
Takes thy name[3] to heaven.
I am the inebriating wine of true wisdom,
If I ferment no blame is mine.
I am the bell of thy caravan
And must surely be excused if I give forth sounds.
The reward of my handiwork is this (appreciative) eye,
Which I reckon among the gifts of God.
A hundred nightingales, drunk with love, have arisen, singing
That the rose of Persia has blossomed in India.
I have arrayed in splendour virgin thoughts
In the Ganja of my genius and the Dihlī of my mind.[4]
Before this, when my poems were all the current coin I had
Faiẓī was the name written on my signet;
Now that I am chastened by (spiritual) love
I am Fayyāẓī[5] of the ocean of superabundance.[6]
In thy reign, incomparable King,
Have I plucked from the bush of time the rose of good fortune.

1 A celebrated musician at the court of Khusrav.

2 The attitude, in India, of a supplicant, or penitent.

3 طغرا (*ṭughrā*), literally, 'thy royal sign manual.'

4 The reference is to the two great poets Niẓāmī of Ganja (in imitation of whose *Lailā-u-majnūn* this poem was written) and Amīr Khusrav of Dihlī. Faiẓī means to say that he has conceived poetical ideas which neither Niẓāmī nor Amīr Khusrav ever conceived.

5 *Vide* p. 413, note 2.

6 Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 549) charitably supposes 'the Ocean of Superabundance' to mean 'God's love,' as, indeed, it may; but it is just as likely to signify Akbar's generosity, or spiritual gifts.

The breeze of my genius has diffused the odour of roses over my banquet,
My cup has been filled to overflowing with the wine of delight;
I have sat laughing, like a cup of sparkling wine,
While the cupbearer, like the bottle, stood behind me
Drinking deeper draughts than either I or my good fortune,
My days have been good, but my means of spending them better.
My gardener has been happy, like thy reign,
For my basil plant has grown freely.
These four thousand jewels of pure water,[1]
Which I have stirred up with the water which is like fire,
Accept, for the lustre of the gems is all thine,
They were produced that they might be scattered round thy crown;
If I have scattered more than I have said
I have then reckoned my harvest without any deficiency.
From this ocean which, in its turmoil, rears its head to the highest heaven
Gems bubble forth on the crest of each wave.
Thus employed, in the art of arranging mystic sayings,
My speech has set itself to no mean employment.
Every pithy phrase with which my pen has charged itself
Has been brought by my heart from distant recesses.
My pen points out to me the road to inscrutable mysteries
Where a mountain of meaning best appears,
Hidden under phrases slight as a blade of grass.
This book is illuminated with my heart's blood.
Its allegories are filled to overflowing with true wisdom.
If its melodies be chanted in the mountains
Their sound will dance among the grains of flowing sand.[2]

[1] *I.e.* the verses of the *Nal-u-Daman*.

[2] ریگ روان (*rīg-i-ravān*) commonly means quicksand. I take it to mean here the sands of mountain streams, as quicksands are not commonly found in the mountains.

I have woven from my swiftly travelling breath
Sacred threads for the Brahmans of the nine monasteries.
My thought, which stirs up mystic truths,
Is an ocean which produces gems from its waters.
This writing, which brings to the light the essence of all things,
Is but half the shadow of my pen.
Every truth contained in it is as water in the stream,
Every knotty saying is as the curl in lovely hair.
This poem is a pearl of which the price may be fixed
For it shows forth the felicity of both worlds;
This lovely idol from the workshop of Āzar[1] received
Its adornment in the month of Āzar,[2]
In the thirty-ninth year of the Imperial reign, 308
In the new Divine Era,[3]
When I reckoned up the years of the *Hijrī* era
I computed them to be a thousand and three *alifs*.[4]
This garden, which is full of thy perfume
Is but one rose of the plant of thy boundless wealth.
I have the prospect of the joy of another cup
In laying out four gardens more.[5]
If love thus consumes me entirely,
I shall make moonlight shine from my ashes.
The transparent glass of my heart is melted,
And I will give it, as a mirror, into the hands of the assembly.

[1] The father of Abraham, said by the Musalmāns to have been a sculptor of idols.

[2] The ninth month of the Persian solar year.

[3] The era instituted by Akbar, beginning with the first year of his reign (A.H. 963 = A.D. 1556). In this era the years were solar, and the old Persian solar months were used. The era was instituted in 1582; vide vol. ii, text, p. 306.

[4] *I.e.* A.H. 1003 (A.D 1594-95), the numerical value of the letter *alif* being one. There is a play on the words الف (*alf*) 'a thousand,' and الف the letter *alif*.

[5] *Scil.* the *Markazu-l-Adwār*, the *Saluimān-u-Bilqīs*, the *Haft Kishwar*, and the *Akbarnāma*.

The story-tellers of the market-place base their stories on their dreams;
But I have awoken from such stories.
This is the arena of those who have traversed the heavens
And in it valiant heroes are to be descried;
Scribes whose very breath breathes magic, with the points of their péns
Have completed the adornment of this epic.
I also, for the sake of making a name in the world,
Have with my skill in words made a talisman.
I melted down both my heart and my tongue
In displaying this picture to the world.
When my genius scattered its wit into pen,
The pen poured the water of life into the inkstand;
The Messiah saw musk in a moist bladder
And dried it with His breath.
Is this an inkstand filled with ambergris,
Or a censer emitting smoke of ambergris?
When this lofty dome (the sky) became my cradle
The year was 954 (A.D. 1547).[1]
Now that I have spent forty-nine years in this monastery
I have passed through the seventy-two sects (of Islām)
My meeting-place has been in the idol-temples of India,
The fire-temples of Persia have been in my heart.
With a hundred incantations and magical devices
Have I cleaned from the mirror of the king's heart the scum of rust.[2]
This day, among the great tribe of the ages
The sky beat the *naubat* for me on the roof;[3]

[1] Faiẓī refers to his own birth in that year. *Vide* p. 411, n. 1. The next verse fixes the date of the completion of this poem.

[2] It is obvious that this 'conclusion' of the *Nal-u-Daman* does not consist of the couplets written in praise of the prophet and on his ascent, mentioned on p. 422. Here Faiẓī, after boasting of his electicism mentions with pride his part in weaning Akbar from orthodoxy. The whole extract consists of the glorification of Akbar and the poet, chiefly the latter.

[3] The *naubat* was the daily music played at stated hours over the gate houses of the emperor and some of the chief grandees.

Eloquence, that King who has been my surety,
Has enthroned himself on my tongue.
I have become both the equal of the *amīrs*
And the prince of poets.
In every direction I go, uttering my wise words,
The ranks of mystic significations bow the knee to me.
Since love entered into my mind 309
I have become the adorner of the diadem which is over the nine thrones of the heavens.
The valiant swordsmen of the kingdom of rhetoric,
The archers of the battle of pretensions,
When they cast their eyes on my forces,
Cast down their shields in the field before me.
My pen, on account of my great fame
Writes as my autograph, 'He who is mighty in speech';
'The pride of the philosophers' is the writing on my forehead.
'The greatest[1] of the poets' is the device on my seal.
The heavenly Key has opened
To my thoughts the door of mystic significations.
When my breath gave birth to this poem
Khiẓr[2] came, and bestowed on me his length of days.
If the door has been opened before me
My poems have also been endued with long life.
If I reckon up all that both worlds can give
I find it to be but dust from the stour[3] which I have raised.
This pen, which has traversed the whole of my poem,
Drives its splinters under the nails of bad penmanship.[4]
See now the drift of this book, which shall last for ever,
See boundless wisdom concealed in (boundless) love.

[1] Literally, 'the seal,' *i.e.* the last and greatest.

[2] The guardian of the water of life.

[3] 'Dust in motion.' I know of no *English* word by which to translate غبار (*ghubār*) 'dust in motion' as opposed to گرد (*gard*) 'dust at rest.'

[4] Faiẓī here praises his penmanship. Driving splinters under the nails is a well-known torture. The meaning of the verse is that other penmen will be tortured by envy owing to the excellence of his handwriting.

Those who are not dumb before this splendour
Are men who are not admitted to the privy chamber of imagination.
As for him whose business is with words,
Let the age endow him with justice.
It is the practice of those of meagre wit
Ever to gibe at their contemporaries:
What of those who have fallen asleep, wrapped in the sheet of the earth?
Knowest thou what they said of the men of their time?
And those who shall obscure my light with smoke
Will I afflict in their eyes (with their smoke).[1]
Moreover, a time will come when I shall be no more,
And shall no longer be the nightingale of this garden;
Then those who struck a thorn into my rose
Shall sigh for sorrow over my shrine.
O thou who hast poured the lees of the draught into my pure wine
Pluck but a rose of the spring of justice,
Or else take my goods at my valuation;
Look to their worth and consider yourself fortunate in me.
In the morning, when I sing in this meadow
My melodies shed a hundred gardens of flowers.
I am humble as dust in the path of true appraisers
Who this day, despite the ungrateful,
310 When they opened this treasure from my stock.
Cast on it a glance which justly estimated it
And looked (with pity) on other unfortunates.
They, like the ocean, teemed with gems
And the diver who brought the gems to the surface delighted in their commendation.
Art is intensely jealous of love
For I have compounded this poem with love's magic.
This pen is the source of great wonder
That from a dry reed such moist sweetness should flow.

[1] This verse may also mean, 'I will hold them excused, owing to (the badness of) their eyesight.

This breath of mine is a monument to love,
For it is vapour which arises from my inward fervour.
Fayyāẓī on this incantation of thine
How long wilt thou dilate?
It is best that thou should'st bring thy tale to a close
Before thou becomest, thyself, no more than a tale.
O thou consumed with love restrain thy breath;
Have done with love's tale, have done!"

CVIII. Fārisī[1]

His name is Sharīf, and he is the son of Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the painter. He is a youth lately come to man's estate, and he is unrivalled in beauty of penmanship and in painting

[1] Muḥammad Sharīf was the school companion of Sulṭān Salīm, who was much attached to him. When Salīm rebelled against his father Sharīf was sent to bring him to his senses, but only widened the breach. On Salīm's reconciliation with his father Sharīf had to flee to the hills and jungles, and was brought to the verge of starvation. On Salīm's accession to the throne Sharīf at once joined him, and was appointed a commander of five thousand, and *vakil* and chief minister of state. In Akbar's reign Sharīf had been a commander of two hundred, and Salīm, when in rebellion, had appointed him commander of two thousand five hundred and governor of Bihār. Jahāngīr says of him (*Tūzuk*, p. 6), "By his coming my heart was much rejoiced for the nature of his services to me is such that I regard him as a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. As I had complete confidence in his sincerity, his intelligence, his wisdom, and his experience of business I appointed him *vakil* and chief minister of state, and conferred on him the exalted title of *Amīru-l-umarā*, than which no higher title is conferred on any servant of the state, and I honoured him with the title of Commander of Five Thousand, and the command of five thousand horse, though his rank was such that I was inclined to appoint him to a higher command. He, however, said at last that he would accept no higher command until he should have rendered some conspicuous service." Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn*, i, 5, 7) has mistranslated this passage. In 1607 (*Tūzuk*, p. 50) Sharīf fell sick, and Āṣaf Khan was appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery he was sent to the Dakan but was recalled as he could not agree with the Khānkhānān. He was sent again to the Dakan, and there died a natural death in November, 1612 (*Tūzuk*, p. 113).

Sharīf's father Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad was a Shīrāzi. He held command of 400 horse and received from Akbar the title of *Zarrīn-qalam* ('golden pen'). Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 495, 5, 7.

It is well known that his father wrote in full, and in a good and legible hand, on one side of a poppy seed, the *Sūratu-l-Ikẖlāṣ*,[1] and on the other side of it the argument of the chapter; and they say that his son, Sharīf, bored in one poppy seed eight small holes, and passed wires through them, and that he drew, on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider, and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo-stick, *et cetera*.

Sharīf has a pleasant nature. He has composed a *dīvān* and the following verses were selected by him from his works and given to me (for insertion in this work).

"They who wander by night in the grief of longing after thee cause me to weep,
For they travel over the road by the rays of that light of Thine.
311 Clemency is Thine, but I am all sin.
When Thou pardonest such a one as me all will sin."

"I sift the sparks of my lamentations in the sieve of respect
Lest, perchance, their harsh sound should strike thy ear."

"By the blessing of love I am at perfect peace with both worlds,
Do thou become my enemy and see with what friendliness I shall treat thee."

"The spacious field of my breast is so full of love
That, in spite of my earnest desire, there is no room for more."

"Prosperity is no assistance in our path
We have recognized the Friend in another form."

[1] Vide p 322, note 2.

A Maṣnavī.

"I have a grief for which may all joys be sacrificed;
May God guard my grief from the evil eye.
When my heart admitted the fire which burnt within me
Even resignation became a stranger to it."

"If she has taken my heart O God, carry to her nostrils
The odour of separation, which was mingled with my heart's blood."

"Why should I sing of my genius or boast of my intellect?
The fact that I am generous[1] disproves my boast."

"O intellect, how long empty-handed in the market of love
Wilt thou ask the price of the goods and blush for what thou hast to offer in exchange?"

A quatrain. 312

"I have a love which is my religion and my faith.
I have a pain which is chief over all my possessions.
Should love be parted from me it will die
Saying, 'Sharīf-i-Fārisī is my soul.'"

"To have in the breast beauty of the heart is such a wonder
That it is pointed out like the new moon, when it can only just be seen."

"The price of gratitude, that unsaleable commodity, has risen
Because no caravan arrives from the land of grief."

"Cast not away the heart which thou hast stolen,
Carry a treasure, although it may seem heavy."

"O zephyr, bear this message to love, 'Take courage, for we are gone,

[1] كرام (*Kirām*), the word is plural, but evidently refers to the speaker. كرّام (*Kurrām*) 'very generous' would fit the sense, but not the metre.

No more will the dust of thy street be turned into mire by tears'."

"I am silent from jealousy, not from pride of love,
For no speech, save of thee, passes on my tongue."

CIX. Qarārī of Gīlān.[1]

He was the son of Mullā 'Abdu-r- Razzāq, and full brother to Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ[2] and Ḥakīm Humām.[3] He had many accomplishments and virtues, among them being poetry, penmanship and studiousness, and he was endowed with the qualities of an inclination to holy poverty and humility.

When he first came to court the emperor ordered him to be put
313 on duty with his brothers, and, when the guard turned out to salute the emperor, as he did not know how to put on a sword he appeared in the midst disordered in his dress. Some of the young wits expressed their surprise at this, but he said, 'Soldiering does not suit men like me,' and told that story of the Amīr Tīmūr, *Ṣāḥib Qirān*,[4] who, in one of his battles, drew up his army in a certain position, and ordered that the laden camels, and the

[1] Qarārī is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 586), 'His name is Nūru-d-dīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him. He looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū-l-Fatḥ, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.' Abū-l-Faẓl is sarcastic at the expense of Nūru-d-dīn. Nūru-d-dīn accused his brother Abū-l-Fatḥ of intense worldliness, and described his other brother, Humām, as one who was religious for the sake of the pleasures of Paradise, while he himself was truly religious, loving God with no motive but love. In the *Ṭabaqāt* Qarārī is thus described: 'Qarārī of Gīlān is the brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fatḥ. By the emperor's order he was transferred from service at court to Bengal, where he died.'

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad came to India with his two brothers in A.D. 1575. According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzarī* he had been in the service of Khān Aḥmad Khān in Gīlān, and went, after the overthrow of Gīlān, to Qazvīn.

[2] Vide pp. 233, 234 and notes.

[3] Vide p. 234 and note.

[4] The great Tīmūr, Akbar's ancestor, called in English histories 'Tamerlane.' *Ṣāḥib-Qirān*, his well-known title, means 'Lord of the (fortunate) conjunction,' and has reference to a conjunction of the planets at his birth.

footmen, and all beasts with their burdens should take up a position of safety behind the troops, and that the ladies should remain in rear of the army. At this moment the learned men[1] asked where their place should be, and Tīmūr replied, 'Behind the ladies.' When this story was repeated to Akbar as a rare piece of wit on the part of Qarārī he ordered that he should be sent to Bengal. He went thither, and there rendered up his soul to God[2] during the rebellion against Muẓaffar Khān's authority.[3] The following verses are productions of his genius:—

"What fear is there if the whole world should become lovers of Lailā,
So long as Lailā's heart inclines only towards Majnūn?"

"For the sake of my grief Heaven confers on me a nature like that of the Friend[4]
If I make of my darkly-clad lot a mouthful of fire."

[1] Literally, 'the lords of turbans,' a common expression for learned men who are distinguished by the turban as soldiers are by a helmet or military hat.

[2] حق (*Ḥaqq*). MS. (A) has بخازنان اجل (*bi-Khāzinān-i-ajal*) 'to the treasurers of eternity.'

[3] Muẓaffar Khān, governor of Bengal, was slain by the rebels in A.D. 1579, and during those turmoils Ḥakīm Nūru-d dīn Qarārī passed from the world. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 282.

[4] خلیل (*Khalīl*). Abraham, 'the Friend of God.' The reference is to the legend of Abraham's persecution. Abraham had broken the idols of the Chaldæans, or, according to the Jewish legend, the idols in his father's shop, and Namrūd (Nimrod) ordered him to be burnt. A large space was enclosed at Kūtha and filled with a vast quantity of wood which, being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared venture near it. Abraham was projected into the fire by means of an engine, but Gabriel was sent to his assistance, and the fire burnt only the cords which bound him, and became to him a sweet and odoriferous breeze while the pile became a pleasant meadow Notwithstanding this the fire raged so furiously otherwise that about two thousand of the idolators were consumed by it. The legend resembles in many respects the account of the attempt to burn Ananias, Azarias and Misael, as given in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel in the Vulgate, but is supposed to have had its origin in the translation of the proper name 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the city whence Abraham was brought by God, the proper name meaning 'fire.'

"What accusation shall I make against Death? I have received an arrow from thy eye
Which would have killed me, even though I did not die for a hundred years."

"I am illumined, as a candle, by the fire of thy love,
I humbly burn, even in my tomb."

"An ocean of fire is raging from my burning heart.
Tell Noah to flee, for *my* flood sheds fire around."

"My grief is this, that however much I am persecuted by thee
314 The delight of being persecuted by thee leaves my heart before I have well experienced it."

"Of her cruelty all that I ask is more wounds for my wounded heart,
I am not solicitous for her favour; all I desire is her cruelty.
I am distracted by the pain of separation; O love, for ages
Have I desired to be distracted but for a moment by the delight of seeing thee!"

"God forbid that our hearts should be beyond the need of the sight of her,
For we are entirely guiltless, and she is beyond all need."

"I am rejoiced at the duration of our separation, for now I shall be able
To approach her and make advances as though I were a stranger."

A quatrain.

"If I be seethed in the caldron of God's wrath,
If I be placed in the flames of hell,
This will be better than that my sins should, of mere favour, be forgiven
While I am left to burn in the fire of shame."

A quatrain.

"If the love of my heart should find a buyer
I should do something that would reveal my true self.
I should so shake out my prayer-carpet of abstinence
That from each thread of it a hundred idolators' sacred threads would fall." ———

"If I drive from my heart regret for my union with thee
It will be better than that I should increase the regret of my heart by meeting with thee"[1]

CX. Qausī[2] 315

He was in the service of the Khān-i-Kalān,[3] and was unequalled in these days for the carving of toothpicks, comb, and such articles. He once wrote the following couplet in a fair hand on the pointed end[4] of a toothpick.

"The affairs of Qausī have been thrown into confusion by the ringlets of his love;
His affairs are ever twisted in a hundred places like the ringlets of his love."

[1] The poet apparently means to say that as the union must necessarily be transient he will do well to refrain from seeking to renew both it and his grief.

[2] This poet is mentioned neither in the Āīn nor in the Ṭabaqāt. His takhallus is not pointed in the text, nor in the Mss. If it is as I have written it, it signifies 'of, or relating to, a bow, the rainbow, or Sagittarius.' It may, however, be *Qūsī*, in which case it would signify 'of or relating to a cloister, cell, or monastery.'

[3] Elder brother of Araga Khān. Vide p 308 and note 2.

[4] The text has خنجرو خلالي (*ḫanjara khilālī*), an expression which has puzzled the editor. The true reading is, beyond a doubt, خنجرهٔ خلالي (*Khanjara-yi-khilālī*) with the meaning given by me

CXI. Qaidī of Shīrāz.[1]

He came from the glorious city of Makkah and at once entered the emperor's service and received an appointment near his person. One day before the court he said to the emperor, "Men are much harassed by this new regulation of the *dāgh-u-maḥallī*[2] which Your Majesty has invented,' and from that time forth he was debarred from court and never again girded his loins in service. For some time he wandered about in the Biyāna district as a *qalandar*,[3] and then came to Fatḥpūr, where he suffered from haemorrhoids and hectic fever. A quack whom he consulted cut the veins of his fundament, and he died under the treatment. He was of an extremely cheerful disposition.

The following verses are by him:—

"The lover has much of the merchandise of complaints, it will be better
That he open not his pack until the market day of the resurrection."

"O thou who hast never wandered from thy place in my heart,
I marvel that thou should'st have found a place in the hearts of all!"

"Though I be dying and no other comes to bid her farewell,
Hasten, camel driver, for her litter departs!"

"What ointment of thy favour is there on my heart,
That melts not my soul more than all the brands of regret?"

1 Qaidī is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 599), 'He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.' The following is the account given in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 'Mullā Qaidī of Shīrāz came from Makkah, entered the imperial service, and was honoured by many marks of favour. He died in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. In the expedition to Kābul he shared the author's (Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad's) quarters.'

2 Regulations by Akbar to prevent the grandees and officers from drawing pay for establishments which they did not keep up They were not entirely new, but had seldom been strictly enforced and were much resented, as all interference with customary embezzlement is in the East. *Vide* text, ii. 190.

3 A wandering *darvīsh* who has given up all worldly desires.

CXII. Qadrī.[1]

He had some poetical genius. The following couplet is his:—

"Love's madness gives me not so much grace that my soul
May know how it is to come forth and be laid as an offering at her feet."

CXIII. Qandī.[2]

He came from Transoxiana to Āgra in the time of Bairam Khān, and there studied. I have seen no poetry of his but the following ode:—

"The hermitage in which I follow my devotions is a corner of the wine-shop,
The ecstatic shriek[3] which I hear is the shout of the drunkards;
My patched robe of devotion and piety has been pawned for wine.
The gurgling of the wine flask is for me the murmur of prayer and praise.
Qandī was journeying, destitute, towards the temple of Makkah,
When a lovely being waylaid him and he turned aside to the idol-temple."

CXIV. Kāmī.

This is the poetical name of Mīr 'Alā-u-d-daulah,[4] the author of the *Taẕkiratu-sh-Shu'arā* which is the source from which this treatise has been compiled. It is superfluous to describe him and to quote his poems here even if it were not the case that the author is a poor judge of poetry and is ill qualified to make selections. It is better that I should recount my own deficiencies than that I should leave it to be done by others. Most of the couplets which I have written in imitation of others will bear out what I say.

1 Qadrī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

2 Qandī is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

3 One of the performances of the *Ṣūfīs* in their 'worship.' *Vide* p. 92.

4 Vide p. 239 and note 1.

CXV. Kulāhī.[1]

He is acquainted with several branches of learning, and he received the title of Afẓal Khān. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan and was enrolled for some time among the doctors of the sacred law. On the occasion on which Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ḥabash were put to death[2] by the sentence of Mullā 'Abdu-'llāh of Lāhor on a charge of heresy and of cursing the companions of Muḥammad[3] he fled in terror[4] from this country to the Dakan and departed thence for the next world. The following verses are his :—

"I tell love's secret to none but my own heart,
For my heart hears the word which I speak, and tells it not again."

"I placed my head on her feet, but she was vexed with me.
When I seized her skirt she snatched it away and passed from me."

"How long will the jealous watcher oppose my passing through that door?
He girds up his loins in enmity against me. O Lord, let him not gird up his loins!"

"Whenever the enemy comes to war against thee with helmet on head,
When thou in battle smitest his helmet with thy sword,

[1] Kulāhī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Vide text, vol. ii, pp. 124, 198, 255. The latter two pages contain references to the execution of Mīr Ḥabash. From this passage it is evident that he suffered with Mirzā Muqīm.

[3] تبرّا (*tabarra*) *vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 576, 577 and note 5. I may add to Lt.-Colonel Ranking's note that the word is commonly applied to actual reviling of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.

[4] It is clear that Kulahī was a *Shī'ah*. The kingdom in the Dakan from which he came is not mentioned. Of the Muḥammadan Kings in the Dakan the Quṭb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda without exception, the 'Ādil Shāhī Kings of Bijāpūr with one exception, and the Niẓām Shāhī Kings of Aḥmadnagar with very few exceptions, were *Shī'ahs*.

(The sword) cleaves his helmet as a pen divides the columns on the paper, and, with the red blood,
Draws a ruled column on the page of the field of battle."

CXVI. Kalāmī.[1]

He is of Caghatāī descent and was for a long time in Sind. He used to be constantly arguing and wrangling with Mullā Niyāzī.[2] He came from Bakar,[3] and was for some time in Āgra. He writes poetry after the style of the men of Transoxiana. The following verses are his :—

"I attempted to close the road against my tears by thinking on thy ringlets,
But water is not to be bound with a chain."

"Thy face is the fountain of love, and drops of sweat
Like bubbles appear everywhere on it.
Look on the bud of my bleeding heart and see
How it has been cleft once and again by my love's sword, and is smiling."

"Sit for a moment, of thy grace, in the eyes of Kalāmī,
For there is to be found a purified corner, and water will be in thy sight."

CXVII. Kāmī of Qum.[4]

He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate and has recently come to Hindūstān. His disposition is not without sprightliness. The following couplet is his :—

[1] Kalāmī is not mentioned, either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet.

[2] *Vide infra* No CLIII.

[3] The capital of a *sarkār*, or revenue district, in the *Ṣūbah* of Multān. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 333.

[4] Kāmī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*: 'He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate, and has a poet's tongue.' In the *Āīn* (*i*, p. 160) he is called Kāmī of Sabzavār and Abū-l-Faẓl remarks that his mind is somewhat unsettled. Mr. Blochmann adds the following note: 'Kāmī's father, Khwāja Yaḥyā, was a grocer, and lived in the Maidān Maḥallah of Sabzavār, in

"My whole body would turn to blood and flow out at my eyes
If I knew that weeping would be of any avail."

CXVIII. Liqā'ī of Astarābād.[1]

He is an epitome of many accomplishments. He was for some time with the Khānzamān. The following couplet is from his poems:—

"My tongue made mention of my heart-subduing sword,
May it be well with the speech that I uttered." [2]

CXIX. Liwā'ī.[3]

He was descended from one of the holy men of Sabzavār. He had a pretty wit, and was for some time in service at court. The following verses are his:—

"When the stranger comes towards thee to see thee
I stand between thee and him, that haply he may not see thee."

"I speak not of thee to the stranger
Lest desire for thee should find a place in his heart."

"When the lewd mention with lubricity the names of their lights-o'-love
I ever fear lest, by some error, thy name should be mentioned."

Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzavār Mīr Yaḥyā went to India and left Kāmī, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzavār. At the request of his father Kāmī came to India, and was frequently with the Khānkhānān. He went afterwards back to Khurāsān, and the author of the *Ma'āṯir-i-Raḥīmī* saw him, in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-56), in Hirāt. While travelling from Hirāt to his home he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khānkhānān's service.

The *Haft Iqlīm* says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.'

[1] Liqā'ī is mentioned neither in *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] *I.e.* may it come true.

[3] Liwā'ī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 613) as Pīrzāda, nephew of Mīr Davām of Khurāsān, a singer and chanter.'

In A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in Lāhor, a wall, blown down by some ill wind, fell on his head, and the coin of his life was whirled away by the breeze. As he was unrivalled as a singer and chanter this chronogram was composed on the event:—

"Alas, that by the efforts of the unjust sky
A nightingale of sweet song is gone from the garden!
He was so smitten on the loins by a whirling stone
That he was wounded and went from our midst.
I asked of wisdom the date of his death,
And received the answer, 'The *Pīrzāda* has gone from the world.'" [1]

CXX. La'lī.[2]

He is Mīrzā La'l Beg, the son of Shāh Qulī Sulṭān of Badakhshān. He is a young man of exceeding nobility of disposition, and is distinguished by the delicacy of his beauty, and as well known for the purity of his nature as for his beauty of form. He is remarkable for his good manners, his humility, his amiable disposition, his courtesy, and his modesty, and he is one of the intimate associates of the emperor. At the present time a *farmān* has been issued from court to him in the Dakan ordering him to leave the service of Sultan Murād [3] and to join the court at Lāhor. He is very well read in history, and in travels. The author is bound to him by bonds of mutual acquaintance and great regard.

He sometimes occupies himself with poetry, and the following couplet from his poems remains in the author's memory:—

"Since I have become as the dust of the road in thy path I fear
Lest thou should not pass by me, but should take another way."

[1] پیرزادہ از جہان رفت. The letters have the following values: 2+10+200+7+1+4+5+1+7+3+5+1+50+200+80+400 = 976. The chronogram is thus wrong by no less than 19 years.

[2] I have not been able to discover any mention elsewhere of La'lī or of his father.

[3] Akbar's second surviving son, at this time (A.D. 1595) employed in the Dakan.

CXXI. Luṭfī the Astrologer.[1]

He was a good boon companion, and had by heart so many of the verses of the great masters of poetry that he could in one night recite a thousand verses on any subject. He also imitated the great poets well. He was for some time with Mīrzā Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad in Gujarāt, and by his efforts received a fixed sum of money granted for the purpose of enabling him to travel, and embarked on a sea-voyage. The following couplets are by him:—

"That face like the pomegranate flower became like a parterre of roses from the glow of wine,
O rose-sellers, good news! Roses are plentiful."

"In the breeze of the rose-garden I smelt but the odour of thee.
I passed by no rose but it wafted to me the odour of my love."

"If my heart becomes a flame of fire, what then? It will wither away.
If the rose of my fate blossom from paradise, what then? It will fade."

"Each sigh that I heaved over thee in regret
Has become a palm-tree to adorn the meadow of my repentance."

CXXII. Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī of Shīrāz.[2]

He was the grandson of Mīr Sayyid Sharīf-i-Jarjānī,[3] (may his tomb be hallowed). In the exact sciences, in various branches of philosophy, in logic, and in metaphysics he excelled all the learned men of the age. He went from Shīraz to the glorious city of Makkah, and there studied the Traditions[1] under Shaikh Ibn Ḥajar and received a teaching diploma. Thence he went to the Dakan, and from the Dakan he came to Āgra, where he attained a higher position than most learned and erudite men of former or recent times. He employed himself in giving instruction in arts and sciences until, in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67), as has already been said,[2] he departed to Paradise. His body, which was at first interred near that of Mīr Khusrav[3] (God's mercy be on him), was taken to Mashhad, and Mīr Muhsin Riẓavī[4] found the following chronogram for his death:—

"When Mīr Murtaẓā left this world
It was as though knowledge departed from the race of Adam.
To give the date of his departure Muḥsin
Said, 'A paragon has departed from the world.'"[5]

The following couplet is one of the productions of the Mīr's noble genius:—

"Ease of heart is not to be obtained from material possessions.
The seed of ease of the heart is in the dispersal of material possessions."

It is probable that the source of this couplet is that passage in

[1] MS. (A) calls this poet '*Mīr* Luṭfī.' In the *Ṭabaqāt* he is thus described:—'Mulla Lutfī the Astrologer composed good extempore verses, and could recite as many as a thousand couplets at one sitting. He was a good companion over the bottle, and a mimic. He understood astrology well, and was in the company of the author for several years.'

[2] Mīr Murtaẓā is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 540) as one of the learned men of the third degree, acquainted with philosophy and theology.

[3] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84, where Mīr Sayyid Sharīf is thus described: 'that paragon of mankind, the eleventh intelligence!' From this passage it appears that Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī was one of those sent, in 1566, to the Khānzamān, to convey to him the emperor's forgiveness, and to exhort him to repentance for his rebellion.

[1] حدیث (*ḥadīth*) the 'sayings' of Muḥammad.

[2] *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 99. "In this year (A.H. 974) that paragon of the age, Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīfī of Shīrāz, passed from this illusory world, and was at first buried in Dihlī, near the tomb of Mīr Khusrav (on him be God's mercy). But the *Ṣadr*, and the Qāẓī, and the *Shaikhu-l-Islam*, then represented that as Mīr Khusrav was a native of India and a *Sunnī* and Mīr Murtaẓā a native of 'Irāq and a heretic, Mīr Khusrav would be annoyed by his company, for there is no doubt that 'the companionship of an unworthy man is a grievous torment to the soul.' It was therefore ordered that he should be removed from there and buried elsewhere, and thus, as is evident, great injustice was done to both."

[3] The famous poet of Dihlī.

[4] *Vide* no. CXXIV.

[5] علامۂ ز عالم رفت The sum of the numerical values of the letters is 974.

the *Lawā'iḥ*[1] in which it is said that some have believed that contentment consisted in the accumulation of material possessions and consequently remain in distraction to all eternity, while others, knowing for certain that the accumulation of material possessions is one of the causes of distraction, have washed their hands of all things.

CXXIII. Maḥwī.[2]

This is the poetical name of Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, who was for twenty-five years chief secretary to the empire of Hindūstān. His daughter married Naqīb Khān.[3] He had some poetical talent, and wrote poetry like a secretary. The following quatrain is one which he wrote at the beginning of the dīvān of Bairam Khān:—

"Of being and of a place of existence there was in the beginning no trace,
For all things came into being by virtue of the two letters of the command 'Be.'
Since these two letters were the key of existence
They have become the opening couplet of the preface to the *dīvān* of things seen."[4]

The following is another quatrain of his, an enigma on the name 'Qāsim':—

[1] Probably the *Lawā'iḥ-i-Jāmī*, a work on ethics by the famous Persian poet, Mullā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-i-Jāmī.

[2] Mīr Maḥmūd is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn*, or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mīr Mughīṣ, who also had this *takhallus* is mentioned in both works.

[3] Mīr Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, a Saifī Sayyid of Qazvīn. He was a commander of nine hundred under Akbar. He came to India with his father while Akbar, after his accession, was still in the Panjāb. He was Akbar's reader, was very proficient in history, wrote several portions of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and superintended the translations from Sanskṛt into Persian. On the accession of Jahāngīr he was made a commander of fifteen hundred. He died at Ajmer in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) and was buried beside his wife within the enclosure of Mu'mu-d-dīn Cishtī's tomb.

[4] شهود (*Shuhūd*). The word has several meanings. I meaning here may perhaps be that attached to it by the *Ṣūfīs*, 'the sight of God,' 'the beatific vision.'

"There is a capricious one the dust of whose door-step is my lodging,
From whom I have gained naught but cruelty and oppression.
When I see her face over the corner of the roof
Her eye shoots the arrow of cruelty at my heart."

This is a couplet of his:—

"Perfume not the jasmine with musk,
Draw not a line of ambergris around the sun."

He wrote the following quatrain to describe a horse which had been given to him by the emperor Humāyūn:—

"O King with an army like that of Jamshīd, monarch of boundless power,
I have a horse which is exceedingly lean and weak;
When I mount him, at every two or three steps which he takes
He falls, saying, 'Now you carry me for two or three steps.'"

The source of this quatrain is certainly that well-known couplet, by whom I know not:—

"He goes one or two steps and then says,
'Now do you carry *me* for an hour or so?'"

Following the idea expressed in the following couplet by a master of poetry,

"O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver,[1]
Whose lip is comfort and whose glance is destruction"

he wrote the following ode in two metres[2]:—

"O thou whose lovely face is the envy of the jasmine,
Whose comely stature is the cypress of the meadow

[1] The text has سمین (*Samīn*) 'fat,' 'plump,' but the metre requires سیمین (*Sīmīn*) 'of silver.'

[2] There are many syllables which may be, by the rules of Persian prosody, either short or long, and the art of the composition described consists in the introduction of syllables of this nature in such positions that the poem may be read in two metres. The two metres in which this ode may be read are these known as *Baḥr-i-sarī'-i-maqṭū'* and *Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*. A

323 Whose laughing lip is a load of sugar,
Whose row of teeth is a string of pearls from 'Adan,
Whose musky locks are a net of calamity,
Whose narcissus-like bewitching eye is seduction's self;
Thy fawn's eyes are hunters of men,
Thy glance, drawing blood from the heart, shoots sharp arrows,
Thy ringlets work naught but magic,
The glances of thy eyes seek but to draw blood from the heart,
The down newly sprung draws on the jasmine of thy cheek a life-giving line of musk,
Of thy grace cast a glance towards Maḥwī
O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver!"

Shaikh Faiẓī also, in the days of his ignorance and while he was yet a boy, practised the same metrical trick, and wrote the following ode in four metres[1]:—

"O thou, whose goodly figure resembles a moving cypress,
Whose arched eyebrow is bent like a bow,
The curl of whose locks is a snare of love's madness,
Whose dark ringlet is the desire of Paradise,
Thy bewitching lip is the water of life,
The lovely down on thy cheek is the Khiẓr of these days,
Thy fawn's eyes are calamity's self,
Even a raging tiger would fall before the eyes of such a fawn,
The wretched Faiẓī is bound in the bonds of thy locks,
All the world is smitten with thy dark ringlets."

One day, about the time when this hasty essay was being written, Shaikh Faiẓī saw in my hand the *Tazkirāh* of Mīr

full explanation of these terms would involve a long note on Arabic and Persian prosody which would be of no interest to those who have not mastered its rules, and superfluous for those who have.

1 See the last note. The four metres in which Faiẓī's ode may be read are: (1) *Baḥr-i-Sarī'-i-maqṭū'*, (2) *Baḥr-i-Khafīf-i-makhbūn-i-maqṭū'*, (3) *Baḥr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*, and (4) *Baḥr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-makhbūn-i-maḥẕūf*.

'Alā'u-d-daulah. He snatched it from me, and, tearing out the leaf containing an account of himself, tore it to pieces, just as the book of his life was torn to pieces.[1] I also, in those days when I had not repented of such vain conceits, composed the opening couplet of an ode in four metres, a mere piece of trash which is not worthy of mention. I hope that the generous recording angels have blotted it from the record of my deeds with the water of forgetfulness.

CXXIV. Mir Muḥsin Riẓavī of Mashhad.[2]

He sometimes exercises his mind with poetry, and as a poet stands in the same class as Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, but is rather superior to him.[3] The following verses are by Muḥsin:— 324

"I do not desire her to be kind to me before strangers,
For I fear lest a stranger should see her and be captivated by her."

"One of stature like the cypress and with a mouth like a rose-bud has stolen my heart,
In the flower of my youth she has disgraced me before the world."

"O thou, the plant of whose graceful form is fresh with the water of life,
The cypress is overcome with shame before thy stature."

I prefer the word *shādāb* ('well-watered') to *Khurram*, ('fresh') in the first hemistich.

1 'The book of his life' is a figurative expression. The author means to say that Faiẓī destroyed the leaf as utterly as his body was afterwards destroyed by death. His reason for doing so seems to have been that he was ashamed of his childish essay in poetry of several metres.

2 Riẓavī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. He was sent on an embassy to the Dakan, from which he returned early in 1574. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 171.

3 The author uses a very vague expression here. Its literal translation is, 'He is in the same world (or category) as Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, but more so.' Whether the words 'but more so' mean 'rather better' or 'rather worse' depends entirely on Badāonī's estimate of Mīr Maḥmūd's verse at the time when the sentence was penned.

The following is an enigma by him on the word *rūḥ* ('the soul'):—

"O thou whose wavy locks waylay souls whom thou chidest,
O thou, the painful longing for whom pours balm on broken hearts,
Is it the reflection of thy lip that is seen in water,
Or is it a rose-petal fallen into a cup of wine?"

The following is another enigma, on the name of Ḥusain Shāh:—

"How pleasant to me is the habitation in my eyes of that moonlike beauty!
How pleasant is the acceptable aspect of her moonlike face!
Muḥsin has placed his head on her feet,
For her face like the sun, and yet like the moon, is pleasant."

CXXV. Maujī.[2]

325 He was Qāsim Khān of Badakhshān, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was well acquainted with the art of poetry and wrote poetry well. He wrote a *maṣnavī* of six thousand couplets in imitation of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* (of Jāmī)[3] from which the following few couplets descriptive of the beloved are extracted:—

"The priceless jewelled band which bound her hair
Has fallen on her neck, feeling its own worthlessness beside her hair.
She has not hung earrings of bright rubies in her ears
For there are hung distracted hearts.
Fortune, of its great favour, has not adorned
The neck of her dress with pearls like her teeth;
For as an ornament of the bosom of her goodly dress
Drops of blood fall from her face.[4]

[1] I have not attempted to solve these enigmas. The task would be both difficult and unprofitable.

[2] This poet is casually mentioned on p. 314 of the text in vol ii, but I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

[3] *Vide* p. 347, note 6.

[4] Apparently from the hearts hung in her ears.

When gold saw itself spurned by her feet
It fell in showers round her feet like fine muslin.
The whiteness of her neck, like a camphor candle,
Rises from the bosom of her dress like a cord of light.
The whiteness of her arm exceeds that of silver,[1]
Her fore-arm is as a chaplet of roses hung on jasmine
From those two sweet chaplets of hers
Her sleeves are filled with jasmine.
Her palm is as though she had taken a rose-petal in her hand.
Each finger is like the bud of a lily set upon it.
Her breast and shoulders, which deprive the mind of sense,
Seem to have taken a harvest of roses into their embrace.
As I am making entries in the register of her beauty (I may say)
That the pure whiteness of her bosom exceeds that of milk.
Her two nipples of incomparable beauty,
Are as bubbles on the surface of milk.
Her waist transcends the bounds of description
For here the utmost delicacy is to be seen."

He has also written a poem *Laila-u-Majnūn* of which this couplet of his is quoted:—

"An old man of an honourable tribe
Whose beard is like a white rose a yard in length."

The following quatrain, he used to say, occurred to his mind in a dream:—

"O breeze, bring me some news from the street of my beloved!
Bring to my dying body good news of my life.
It is hard for me to arrive there.
Do me this favour and betake thyself thither swiftly." **326**

"The cup-sickness of the wine of grief has made me heavy-headed;
Come, cup-bearer, and free me from the griefs of the world."

[1] Literally 'has broken the fore-arm of (*i.e.* 'has overcome') silver.'

"Cup-bearer, how long shall we dilate on
What we have suffered from fate?
Fill the cup, that we may for an hour free our hearts of grief."

Towards the end of his life he gave up the profession of arms, resigned his appointment, and retired into the corner of seclusion. How well would it have been with him had he also given up the writing of poetry![1] His death occurred in Āgra, in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72).

CXXVI. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān.[2]

He was the son of Muḥtaram Beg, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was a man of pleasing qualities, and was fond of poetry, and sometimes wrote it. The following couplet is his:—

"In the evening when thou throwest the veil from thy face
The sun, unable to bear the dazzling sight, sets."

He was slain in Kashmīr in A.H. 996[3] (A.D. 1588) in the battle in which the imperial forces under Qāsim Khān, *Mīr-i-Baḥr*,[4] were defeated in a night attack made by Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf Khān of Kashmīr.

[1] The author is not casting aspersions on Maujī's verses, but is regretting that he did not give up a pursuit which is regarded by strict Muslims as a vain, if not unlawful, occupation.

[2] Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān was a commander of nine Hundred. He served in the expedition in Mālwa against 'Abdu-'llah Khān Uzbak in the ninth year, and in the seventeenth year in the war in Gujarāt under the Khān-i-Kalān. Two years later he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū in Bihār. In the twenty-third year he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war against Rānā Partāb. He then served in Bihār under the Khān-i-A'ẓam and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān. In A.D 1585 he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Bardwān. In 1586 he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān, who was on his way to Kashmīr. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 443.

[3] Mr. Blochmann says (*Āīn*, i, 443) that he was killed in A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in a fight in which the Kashmīrīs defeated an imperial detachment under Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān. I do not know what authority there is for this statement, but we can hardly refuse to accept as correct the statement of Badāoni, who was apparently a personal friend of the poet, and mentions his death in three passages, here, and in vol. ii, (text) pp. 354, 369.

[4] A commander of three thousand, and one of Akbar's chief *amīrs*. He

CXXVII. Mu'izzī of Hirāt.[1]

He was a Ṭabāṭabā'ī[2] Sayyid, and as a boy was educated with Kāmrān Mīrzā.[3] He was for nearly fifty years in India, and it was in Hindūstān that he departed this life in the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75). The following two couplets are his:—

"How long, O sky, wilt thou keep me whirling around like a mote in a sunbeam? 327
How long wilt thou keep me in exile and destitute?"

"I said, 'with a sigh I will drive out grief from my heart.'
My grief is not lessened by sighs. Ah! What shall I do?"

CXXVIII. Murādī of Astarābād.[4]

He was of the Sayyids of Astarābād. He came to Hindūstān and died in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). He is remembered by many verses which he has left, a few of which are the following:—

"She showed her face from behind the curtain. Ah, this is indeed the dawn!
This is the perfection of God's omnipotence in his handiwork.
Not even on one night has the star of my desire risen in thy face;
This is indeed my ill fate and my evil fortune.
See that thou hanker not after delight of the heart, and ease
In the dust-bin of this world, for this is the house of toil.

conquered Kashmīr and in the thirty-fourth year was made governor of Kābul. He was murdered in A.D. 1593-94 by a young man who pretended to be a son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 379.

[1] Mu'izzī is not mentioned as poet in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] That is to say, a Sayyid descended from Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm, great-grandson of 'Alī, who was called *Ṭabātabā* on account of his pronouncing the letter ق like ط.

[3] Younger brother of Humāyūn, and uncle of Akbar.

[4] Murādī is mentioned as a poet neither in the *Āīn*, nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Yesterday Murādī passed away to the dust and his love said,

'This is one who has been killed in the path of love by the stone of cruelty.

O flood of grief, wash not from my eyes the dust of his road,

For it is to me a memorial of one who, (while he lived), was as the dust under my feet.'"

"It was the blackness [1] of her locks which was all the foundation of my faith,

I am no true Musalmān if I turn my face away from her.

328 Though the dog of thy street is more highly regarded than I,

Yet I am not a whit behind him in the path of fidelity."

"The lovely ones, who have made their ringlets ornaments around their faces,

Have taken the people in these snares."

"Absent from that rosy-faced one, my heart is contracted like a rosebud,

A madman am I, smitten with love's madness, fighting with shadows."

"When fate drew that line of dusky down on my love's face,

It drew beside it the line of my dependence on her."

CXXIX. Mushfiqī of Bukhārā.[2]

He came originally from Marv. Some men regard him, for his

[1] كفر (*kufr*) literally 'infidelity.'

[2] Mushfiqī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 583) but no account of him is given. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he was born and died at Bukhārā. Badāonī's statement that he came originally from Marv may possibly mean no more than that his ancestors came from that place. Dāghistānī says that he was *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā* or poet-laureate under 'Abdu-'llāh Khān the Uzbak, King

qaṣīdahs, as the Salmān [1] of the age, but this is a great mistake, for his conceits suffer, to an extraordinary degree, from the defects common to the poets of Transoxiana, and are all frigid. He came twice to Hindūstān and left the country again. The following are some of his most pointed verses:—

"Since all the cash that Majnūn had to show for his life was his grief for his beloved,

May God pardon him in consideration of this cash, for he loved much."

"For loving I have found myself much blamed,

I thought love an easy matter, but it proved to be difficult." [2]

"Since the meadow each night has lit in the garden the lamp of the rose.

The tulip's petal has burst into flame and both the petal and the black scar on it have been consumed."

He had a subtle tongue in satire, and one of his witty satires was this fragment, which he composed on the occasion of his last visit to India:—

"The land of Ind is a sugar-field, 329

Its parrots all sell sugar,

Its black Hindūs are like flies

In their turbans and long coats." [3]

of Bukhārā Sprenger says that he was born in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538-39) and that his second *dīvān* was collected in A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). From the *Akbarnāma* it appears that he was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patan in A.D. 1578. He died in A.D. 1586.

[1] The great poet Salmān of Sāwa, who died A.D. 1367-68.

[2] Cf. Hāfiz, ... كه عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشكلها 'For love appeared easy at first, but difficulties soon arose.

[3] The text is apparently corrupt here. It has نگوچه (*nagūca*), a word which is neither Hindūstānī nor Persian. Mr. Blochmann, in the *Āīn* (i, 583), reads تكوچه (*ṭakaucia*), a word certainly not in common use, but explained on p 88 of the *Āīn* as meaning the long coat commonly worn in India, usually known as چپكن (*capkan*). The meaning of the last verse is that the turban and the long skirts of the coat are like the large head and straight wings of the fly. This fragment is quoted, in a mutilated condition, by

CXXX. Mailī of Hirāt.[1]

His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He left a *dīvān* and was a master of poetical style. His taste in poetry was such that if he had lived till now most of the raw poetasters of to-day would have grown sick of trafficking in verse, and from the time in which he flourished until now none of our later versifiers can be mentioned beside him. He was for many years in the service of Naurang Khān,[2] and wrote several brilliant encomiastic odes on him. It is said that on account of some suspicion against him something was at last, by order of Naurang Khān, put into his cup, and that he was thus sent from the world. His death took place in Mālwa. The following verses are by him :—

Abū-l-Faẓl, in the *Āīn* (*loc. cit.*). Abū-'l-Faẓl transfers the simile from the Hindūs, whom he liked, to the learned among orthodox Muslims, whom he disliked. *Vide* Mr. Blochmann's note (*Āīn, loc. cit.*). Mr. Blochmann remarks that the first couplet of the fragment is a parody on (he should have said 'was suggested by') a couplet in the well-known *ghazal* which Hāfiẓ (ode 158, Jarrett's edition) sent to Ghiyāṣu-dīn, Sulṭān of Bengāl :—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسي که ببنگاله میرود

"The parrots of Ind will be tasting the sweets
Of this Persian sugar now sent to Bengal."

Mushfiqī seems to have been a diligent student of Hāfiẓ.

[1] Mailī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*: 'Mīrzā Qulī, Mailī, was for years in the service of Naurang Khān, who was one of the *amīrs* attached to the emperor's exalted family. He has written a *dīvān* of *ghazals* and *qaṣīdahs*.' In the *Āīn* he is thus mentioned, 'His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He was of Turkish extraction and lived in the society of gay people.' The year in which he came to India is variously given as A.H. 979 (A.D 1571-72) and A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). The *Ātashkada-yi-Āzarī* says he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghistānī he belonged to the Jalāīr clan, lived under Ṭahmāsp, and was in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, after whose death he went to India. He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *Ātashkada* says that he was one of his favourite poets.

[2] Naurang Khān was the son of Quṭbu-'d-dīn Khān, the youngest brother of Shamsu-'d-dīn Muhammad Khān Atanga. He served under Mīrzā, Khān-khānān in Gujarāt in A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), and received a *jāgīr* in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujarāt. Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 334) says that he died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), but, according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, where he is styled a commander of four thousand, he was governor of Jūnagarh in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1593-94).

"Thou surely knowest that love for thee does not depart with life
That thou walkest thus proudly over the dust of those killed (by love)."

"Thou art neither my friend nor a stranger, and I know not
What name is given to such intercourse as this."

"My heart is restless within my body which has been slain by love;
I know not what more it expects from my beloved,
It describes as 'proving' the cruelty which it suffers from thee,
And by this artifice persuades itself to patience for a while."

"My life is about to leave me and I am well pleased with this, for my heart
Has now some hope of a remedy for its many years of pain."

"In thy absence I do not die, lest thy heart should say
'This weakling who has not experienced my cruelty could not endure my absence for a day or two.'" 330

"Although she came to ask how I fared I died,
In jealous wonder as to who it was from whom she asked the way to my house."

"I die and have pity for those who live, for thou
Art accustomed to committing such cruelty as thou hast done unto me."

Some people read *rashk* ('jealousy') for *raḥm* ('pity') in this last couplet. The distinction between the two is for such as have a nice discrimination in the matter of words.

The following verses also are by him :—

"I, with my wounded heart, am a half-dead victim of the chase, whom
The hunter in his pity quickly slays."

"My beloved desires my death for her ease, and I
With shame bear the burden of my weary life."

"I have made thee, as my beloved, a byword, and
I rejoice
In thy shame, for thou now wilt cast no glances on men."

"What ill fortune is Mailī's, to experience nothing but cruelty at her hands!
She is but a child, who cannot distinguish between cruelty and fidelity."[1]

"I am alone with my broken heart, and I gladly entrust it to thee:
Of what use will it be to me, that I should keep it?
O my enemy! I am at my last breath, give her to me for a moment
That I may restore her to thee with a hundred thousand pangs."

"In spite of her slights I would not arise at once from her feast
For if I remain I hope to be glad for a moment at least:
After long years I am sitting, on some pretence, at her feast
331 And she speaks to me of my rival, hoping that I will leave."

[1] There is a difference of one letter only between the two Persian words, جفا (*jafā*) 'cruelty' and وفا (*vafā*) 'fidelity.'

Come not to ask how I fare, since there is no hope of my recovery.
The desire to see me die is no sign of love.
So ardently do I desire speech with thee
That I cannot keep silence, despite my wretched plight
Thou art with my rival and Mailī pretends to ignore it,
With an ignorance which is not less than a hundred regretful glances."
"I feign to be free from my longing for her,
That this wile of love may make her less scornful of me."

"A hundred times have I been grieved by her and again made peace with her,
But that moon-like beauty recks not whether I be at peace or at war with her."

"What has happened that thou passest by Mailī with fierce shyness?
Perchance thou art in fresh pursuit of other game."

"O Mailī, that one with the wonder working breath of 'Isā[2] comes to thy pillow.
One who had been dead for a hundred years
Would rise up in joy at her coming."

"I expected thee, faithless as thou art, to abide by thy compact,
In the great simplicity of my heart I expected this."

[1] This last couplet is not in the text, but is in both MSS. It completes the ode. The couplet runs as follows :—
تو با رقیبی و میلی تغافلی دارد تغافلي كه كم ازصد نگاه حسرت نیست

[2] عیسی ('Isā) is the name given by Musalmāns to our Lord, whose miracles of raising the dead to life they attribute to His breath, *vide* p. 224 and note.

"If anybody has brought about a meeting between my love and me
Her anger with me has certainly made him ashamed of what he has done for me.
The good news of a meeting with her, which the stranger in ridicule gave me,
Has made me, in my simplicity, expectant of its fulfilment."

"So long as there remains between us, even in secret, any talk of 'me and thee'
A stranger is at our feast, sitting between thee and me.[1]
Thou through modesty enterest not into speech, and I, in bashfulness, refrain
332 Wondering how the jealous wretchers represent what we would say."

"She came upon me by accident, and pretended that she had remembered her promise;
She hung her head, and pretended that she did so in modesty."

In the following verse he has imitated the compiler of the *Muntakhab*.[2]

"The sky desired to vex the people, and consequently
Availed itself of the ill-will of her who torments us."

CXXXI. Malik of Qum.[3]

He was supposed to be the king of words. He lived the life of a *darvīsh* in the Dakan,[4] and his eyes were seldom free from

[1] This couplet, which is carelessly omitted from MS. (B), deals with the favourite theme of the absolute oneness of the lover and the beloved.

[2] I do not know to what *Muntakhab*, or Selection, Badāonī here refers. It is not likely to be this work, for whenever he casually mentions any poetry that he may have written he adds an expression of regret for having written it.

[3] Malik, not being a poet of Akbar's court, is not mentioned in the *Ā'īn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[4] *Scil.* the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar.

tears. It is said that at the time of the massacre of the foreigners by the Dakanis he followed the direction of those foreigners who inhabit the land of non-existence. The following verses are extracted from his works:—

"The edge of the sword of testimony has brushed away the dust of dissension,
Fire-worshipper, Christian, and Muslim are all killed by one dagger."

"The inmost parts of the cold-hearted are cut to pieces,
And salt is then sprinkled on the wounds in their hearts."

"Thou, with thy sweet smile, art balm to wounded hearts,
But thy eyelashes are a sharp lancet to the liver.[2]
The wine of love is not suited to the capacity of intellect,[3]
Thou that pretendest to knowledge art no tiger of our forest."

"The cloud of the eye waters thy narcissus,[4]
The sight of thee arouses no suspicion of cruelty."

"The sword of her cruelty drips with blood, I fear that 333 Malik
Will go in search of his reward to the house of the slayer."

"The treasury of my imagination is so full of the treasure of the thought of reunion with her that my eyes will not close."

"When the army of well-being[5] comes impudently against thee, O Malik,

[1] *Vide* p. 373, note 1.

[2] One of the seats of the affections, according to oriental belief.

[3] The text has عشق, which does not make sense. Both MSS. have عقل, which reading I have followed.

[4] The eye of the beloved is compared with a narcissus.

[5] i.e. of complacency and freedom from love.

Saddle the horse of strife and hurl thyself against the centre [1] of the army."

"How long will one expect the fulfilment of promises from every deceiver?
One has one's eye on the door and one's ear open for the footfall of every comer.
Enemies gladly give this much ease to one's pain,
But woe be to him who expects fidelity from them."

"What breeze has been dressing thy head
That thy hyacinthine locks are scattered over the rose of thy cheek?
Eternity without beginning is sworn to thy moon-like face.
Eternity without end is attached to thy waving locks.
Sugar melts at the sight of thy smiling face,
Salt is attracted by thy sweet smile of love.
The temple bell is melody to the bead-tellers
In that land where the idol is lord."

I saw the complete copy of Malik's works which Shaikh Faiẓī brought from the Dakan. All his poetry is after the fashion of that of the poets of this age and he has not departed from their set forms. No odour of love, of sympathy, or of any fresh subject
334 has touched his verse, and therefore I have confined myself to quoting these brief extracts. To what extent he understood the set terms used in poetry may he estimated from the following couplet, which is the opening couplet of his *dīvān* [2]:—

"O Thou whose praise is the ladder to all discourses,
The mention of whom is the pulpit of all assemblies!"

[1] There is a *double entendre* here. قلب *(qalb)* means both 'heart' and 'the centre of an army.'

[2] Badāonī is hard to please. He blames Malik for introducing no fresh matter into his poetry, and then blames him for using an uncommon, if not original, simile. It must be remembered that Malik was almost certainly a Shī'ah.

His rhymes are a delight to his enemies, not to mention the complete lack of dignity in his diction. In my humble opinion the following couplet is the best poetry he has written:—

"I stepped aside to take a thorn from my foot,
And her litter vanished from my sight.
For one moment I was negligent and it travelled a hundred years' journey [1] from me."

CXXXII. Mudāmī of Badakhshān.[2]

He had good taste in poetry. He was for some time in the service of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka.[3] The following couplet is his:—

"My heart, thou sayest that a hundred discords have arisen on account of that graceful figure and lofty stature (of hers);
Thou sayest truly: from that one of lofty stature I have experienced many calamities."

Many have written verses on this theme, but they have travelled round about one another without progressing, and their verses are insipid. One writes as follows:—

"Thou sayest that calamity and strife have arisen in the world from her footsteps.[4]
Thou sayest truly. Verily calamities are from above." [5]

Another has written [6]:—

"Thou sayest that tumults have arisen on all sides in the city on account of thy graceful figure.

[1] The text reads صد سالهٔ را which does not make sense, as there is no substantive to be qualified by the adjectival expression صد سالهٔ. I think the correct reading must be صد سالهٔ ز, and I have translated accordingly.

[2] Mudāmī is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] *Vide* p. 388, note 1.

[4] قدم *(qadam)* means 'a footstep' The text has, and the metre requires, قدم *(qadam)*, a word which does not exist in Persian. The letter د has been doubled by poetical license.

[5] There is a *double entendre* here which cannot be reproduced in translation. بالا means both 'on high' and 'the graceful figure and lofty stature of a beautiful woman.

[6] The text omits لغیرهٔ both here and before the preceding couplet, though

Thou sayest truly. Thou hast a wonderful[1] figure, my moon-like beauty."

One might say that all these poems are the tumults that are to arise at the last day.

(The following verses are by Mudāmī):—

"My colour is sometimes as the flame of a candle in an orange-coloured lantern,
Or perchance like an autumn leaf blown on to the tulip from the north."

---

336 "When the account of his grief was finished,
He sealed it by dropping on it a tear."

CXXXIII. Mullā Maqṣūd of Qazvīn.[2]

He was one of the jovial poets of the age. He left a *dīvān*, properly arranged in alphabetical order. The following verses are by him:—

"In the condition of fidelity the dog of thy street has submitted to me.
Success has become subservient to me and the world wags in accordance with my desire,
All lovers have their glances fixed on thy beauty,
O king of beauty, thy face is my full moon."

"I planted in my heart the plant of desire for her,
But this rose-cutting has yielded me nothing but grief."

"I had some hope that I might one day hold her ringlets in my hand,

it appears in both MSS. and serves to show that the two couplets are by others than Mudāmi, as they evidently are.

[1] There is again a pun here, which cannot be reproduced in translation. The word قیامت (*qiyāmat*) which literally means 'resurrection' or 'the day of resurrection' is used twice, first in the sense of 'tumults' and secondly in an adjectival sense,—'wonderful.'

[2] Mullā Maqṣūd is not mentioned either in the *Ā'in* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet

Alas, that my precious life has been wasted in this hopeless desire!"

He also wrote the following *qaṣīdah* in imitation of Khwāja Salmān, and tacked on to it[2] the name of Qāẓī Yaḥyā of Qazvīn, the grandfather of Naqīb Khān[3]:—

"Once more the sky shivers with December's cold,
The sun has veiled his head in clouds fearing the wrath of the thunderbolt;
The sky once more rains arrows (of hail and snow) on the earth;
The earth has made water itself a breastplate against the arrow of Sagittarius;
The sea-monster, fearing the biting blasts of December,
Has placed on his head a helmet of bubbles hard as iron.
Once more, by reason of the abundance of snow and the 336
intensity of the cold,
The earth has fallen a-trembling like a sea of mercury.

[1] Literally 'twisted.' This is another untranslatable *double entendre*. The word has reference to the curling locks of the beloved.

[2] Literally, 'has added as a tail, or fringe.' The author means that Mullā Maqṣūd, having written his ode, added a few couplets as an encomium on Qāẓī Yaḥyā, probably with the object of obtaining a reward.

[3] *Vide* p. 148, note 3. His grandfather, Mīr Yaḥyā, was a well-known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muḥammadan religion to his own time. He was at first patronized by Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i-Ṣafavī and was treated with such distinction that his enemies poisoned his patron's mind against him by representing that he and his son, Mīr 'Abdu-'l-Laṭīf, were the leading men among the *Sunnīs* of Qazvīn. The king ordered Mīr Yaḥyā and his sons to be imprisoned in Iṣfahān, and Mīr Yaḥyā accompanied the king's messenger thither and died there, after one year and nine months, in A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554-55) at the age of 77. He was the author of a historical compendium, the *Lubbu-'t-Tawārīkh*, composed in A.D. 1541. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the father of Naqīb Khān, fled to Gīlān and afterwards, at the invitation of Humāyūn, went to Hindūstān, and arrived at court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. He was appointed preceptor to Akbar. His son, Naqīb Khān, rose to be a commander of nine hundred in Akbar's, and fifteen hundred in Jahāngīr's, reign. Vide *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, 447.

The dark surface of the earth is whitened, covered with an army of snow.
No black spot is to be found in the heart of the world,
For the surface of the earth is so contracted
That the crow can find no place for his foot thereon.[1]
On the lawns of the garden, instead of blossoms and verdure,
In the ice and the snow which have fallen only ermines[2] are to be found.
Once more trembling has fallen on the trees in the meadow.
Like me have they become thus restless from lack of livelihood.[3]
In this cold air my body quivers like a willow,
In its weakness it is sometimes at fever heat, sometimes in agony.
This morning a voice from heaven conveyed good news to my ear.
Saying, 'How long wilt thou suffer torments from the hardships of these days?
Take refuge from the tyranny of vicissitudes at that threshold
Which is as high as the threshold of the sky,
The threshold of the trustee of the sacred law, an account of a particle of whose virtues
Would not be contained in a hundred volumes or in a thousand books,
Like 'Alī and like Muḥammad in his qualities, Yaḥyā by name;
Since his perfection is manifest why should I distinguish him by titles?'"

Mullā Maqṣūd died in Āgra in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). His father, Mullā Faẓlu-'llāh, also was one of those who deserve the

[1] *i.e.* the ground is so cold that the crow fears to alight on it.

[2] The poet here uses two words سنجاب (*sinjāb*) and قاقم (*qāqum*), both of which mean 'ermine.' The ermine is compared with the whiteness of the snow.

[3] There is another untranslatable *double entendre* here. The word which I have translated by 'lack of livelihood' literally means 'leaflessness.'

title of man, and was held in reverence. He wrote the following fragment:— 337

"Faẓlī! Enfold not thyself in the robe of existence as a bud is enfolded in its sheath,
Wrinkle not thy forehead and trail not thy skirt in blood;
Be like the full-blown rose, and like the cypress
Be free from the griefs of this world and humble not thyself before the base sky.

CXXXIV. Miḥnatī of Ḥiṣār.[1]

He was moderately fond of study and was in the college at Dihlī. He was afterwards, by the emperor's order, appointed *qāẓī* of Sirhind,[2] and received his poetical name of Miḥnatī from the emperor. In Sirhind he passed away from this house of toil,[3] the world.

The following verses are by him:—

"I found in my path the print of her foot,
Why should I not press my cheek against it?
I have found her place."

"The folk have lost their hearts in meditating on her waist, slender as a hair;
I too, among them, have lost my broken heart."

CXXXV. Mūsawī of Mashhad.[4]

His descent is indicated by his poetical name. He had a poetical turn of mind. The following verses are his:—

[1] Miḥnatī is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Ḥiṣār is Ḥiṣār Fīrūza, chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, now the headquarters of the Ḥiṣār District in the Panjāb.

[2] Chief town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī, now in the Patiāla State, in the Panjāb.

[3] This phrase has reference to Miḥnatī's *takhallus* which is formed by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat* from the word محنت (*miḥnat*) 'toil.'

[4] Mūsawī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or the *Ṭabaqāt*. From what Badāonī says of him here it is clear that he was one of the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Riẓā, the eighth *Imām* of the *Shī'ahs*

"I know that in secret your glances are cast on me in my affliction,
I know that thy pretended neglect of me is due only to fear of strangers."

"Her eyes draw me in my affliction to perform her behests;
She casts towards me a glance suffused with wrath." [1]

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CXXXVI. Khwāja Mu'azzam.[2]

He was the maternal uncle of the emperor, and was one of the sons of his holiness Shaikh Jām (may his tomb be hallowed). He was afflicted with insanity and mania to an extraordinary degree, so that he murdered his wife without any cause and was put to death on that charge in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64), as has been mentioned in the record of the reign.[3] The following chronogram has been found for the date of that event:—

"The great Khwāja, by name Mu'azzam,
Slew his wife, and was himself slain
By the wrath of the emperor, Jalāl-i-dīn Akbar.

[1] This is the gist of the second hemistich of the couplet, but the hemistich does not consist of a complete sentence and it would appear that Badāonī should have supplied the rest in by quoting further.

[2] *Vide* vol ii, text, p. 71. Badāonī, though he admits that Khwāja Mu'azzam deserved punishment, seems to blame Akbar for punishing him, and says that Mu'azzam always suffered on account of his near relationship to the emperor, quoting Arabic verses to the following effect:—

"Near relations are like scorpions in the harm which they do,
Be not deceived by either paternal or maternal uncle,
For grief is increased by the paternal uncle,
While the maternal uncle is destitute of all good qualities.

[3] *Vide* note above. Badāonī says (*loc. cit.*) 'on the day on which the emperor went to his house to give him advice and to warn him against the repetition of certain unbecoming actions which he had committed, the Khwāja, becoming aware of his approach, and either having doubts regarding his intentions or being attacked by one of those fits of madness to which he had long been subject, slew his wife. As he had thus become deserving of punishment, the emperor had him kicked and beaten and then had him ducked in water several times, and sent him to Gwāliyār, and in that prison he was freed from the bondage of his evil nature, and went to his reward.' This passage in vol. ii leaves it doubtful whether Mu'azzam died a natural or a violent death, but the passage above is quite explicit.

When I asked of him the year of his death
That man of auspicious qualities said, while he still lived,
'Without the world-illumining face of that lovely one
I suffered at length by the greater martyrdom'." [1]

This chronogram appears to have been composed by Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah, the author of the *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*.[2] The following opening couplet was composed by Khwāja Mu'azzam:—

"It is impossible for me, my soul, to recount to thee my heart's anguish,
I suffer from this anguish to an extent which cannot be told."

In quoting this opening couplet of the Khwāja's I have simply followed Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah. Otherwise, in spite of the following opening couplet by a master of poetry, I should have said that the Khwāja's couplet was mere trash. The couplet of the master [3] is as follows:—

"Since I heard that I could call thy ruby lip my soul
A fire which I cannot describe has stricken my heart."

CXXXVII. Mauzūn.[4]

He is the son of Shaikh Pīr of Āgra, who wrote seven scripts well, and whom I met in Peshāwar in the reign of Salīm [5] Shāh. His son also was a capable youth and passably proficient in the 339
art of composing enigmas and in penmanship. He also played chess, both two-handed and four-handed, well. These few verses are quoted as an example of his style:—

"What profit is mine from the many colours of the flowers of spring

[1] شهادتم اکبر But the sum of the letters is 973, not 971. It is possible that Mu'azzam was two years in Gwāliyār before he died or was put to death.

[2] *Vide* p. 239 and note 1.

[3] These words صطلع استاد این است are not in the text. I supply them from the MSS.

[4] Mauzun is not mentioned, either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*, as a poet.

[5] Islam or, by *imālah*, as here, Islīm, otherwise Salīm Shāh Sūr, son and successor of Shīr Shāh Sūr. *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 485 *et passim*.

Since my heart in thy absence finds no solace in any colour?
Even those who bear witness to the grief which, in my misery, I suffer, are afflicted with grief;
They are my blood-red tears, my pale cheeks, and my wakeful eyes."

" O thou, from whose cheek the moonlight has borrowed its brightness,
And in envy of whose beauty the sun burns!"

" Each arrow that thou shootest, my moonlike beauty with bow-like eyebrow,
Is as deeply embedded in my bones as the marrow of them.
The arrow which that beauty with bow-like eyebrows has shot at any heart
Has been a salve to its hidden wounds."

CXXXVIII. Muḥammad Yusuf.[1]

He was a handsome man who was born in Kābul and brought up in Hindūstān. In penmanship he was the pupil of Ashraf Khān. He died in Gujarāt at the time of the siege of Sūrat[2] in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73) in the prime of his youth. Ashraf Khan composed a hemistich which formed a chronogram giving the date of his death, and Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah completed the stanza, as follows:—

" Muḥammad Yūsuf, that residence of beauty,
Went from the world shedding tears from his eyes.
340 An honoured man gave this chronogram for the date of his death.
'Where is Yūsuf of Egypt, O ye honoured ones?'" [3]

1 Muḥammad Yūsuf is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a poet.

2 *Vide* vol. ii (text), p. 143

3 The reference is to the patriarch Joseph. There is something wrong about the chronogram. The whole hemistich is کجا شد یوسف مصرای عزیزان which gives the date 1164. Omitting the last two words the total is 1008, and omitting these and also the first word the total is 984,—still four years too many.

This rhyming of *ma'rūf* and *majhūl* is very strange.[1] The following ode, 'The Master of the House,' is by the above-mentioned Muḥammad Yūsuf:—

" Happy is he who has taken up his abode in the wine-shop,
And is seated by the tun with a cup and a measure,
It is he who has given to the beloved her languishing glances heavy with wine.
I am drunk with the languishing glances of those two narcissus-like eyes.
The owl found no well-peopled spot in this transitory world
And hence chose for its dwelling the corner of a ruin.
I said (to my love), 'Take up thy abode in my eyes,' but she answered coquettishly,
'Does anybody build a house in a channel through which floods flow?'
The comb has disordered thy locks,
May the hand of him who made that comb for thy locks be broken."

The following couplet is by him:—

" In thy absence I attempted in vain to take rest,
Disappointed by thy absence I took such rest as I could."

CXXXIX. Manẓarī of Samarqand.[2]

He is a pleasing poet. He was at Agra in the service of Bairam Khān and designed an epic Book of Kings,[3] and completed the versification of several of the incidents to be included in it, 341

1 The rhyme to which Badāonī objects is that of عزیزان (*'azīzān*) with ریزان, which latter word was pronounced in his day, and, by natives of India, is still pronounced *rēzān*. The *ma'rūf* sound is 'I,' the *majhūl* 'ē.' Although the Persians have long abandoned the *majhūl* sounds and would now pronounce the latter word *rīzān* it is still considered inelegant, if not incorrect to rhyme a vocable which was always *ma'rūf* with one which was anciently *majhūl*, though the rhyme is perfectly good, both to the ear and to the eye. This defect in rhyme is called هجو (*hajv*).

2 Manẓarī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

3 شاه نامه (*Shahnāma*), *i.e.* a poem on the model of Firdausī's great epic, the *Shāhnām*.

particularly the battle against Sikandar Sūr,[1] which contained an account of the valour of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān.[2] He presented it to the Khān at Patyālī [3], and the Khān made some corrections in it and told him the whole story of the fight in proper order, from beginning to end. Manẓarī in one night, as it was the Khān's wish, corrected those three or four hundred couplets and read them at his *levée* the next morning, and received a notable reward. The following couplet occurs in that poem :—

"The sound of his trumpet deafened the sky.
The chief was perplexed by his sudden attack."

The following opening couplet by him is very well known, and is often illuminated [4] :—

"In thy absence I am always destitute,
I am one who never enters thy thoughts."

The following *ghazal* is by him :—

"See the down growing on the moonlike cheek of that lovely silver-bodied one.
Both down and cheek are signs of the disturbances of the age of the moon.[5]
See a chain of dark ambergris drawn across the face of the moon ;
See a ringletlike violets on a cheek like a moist rose-petal ;
See her heart-ravishing eyes and her lashes that shoot arrows,
See perils upon perils in the road of love."

This last couplet is the best. As for the rest it is evident that he toiled hard at them to no purpose but to weary our ears.

1 *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 542 *et passim*.
2 *Vide* p. 6, note 4.
3 On the Ganges, in the estate of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān.
4 *i.e.* illuminated on cardboard, as a wall decoration.
5 Each of the seven planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun and the moon, as reckoned by the Musalmāns, was to have an age or cycle. These cycles have all been completed except the last, that of the moon, which began with the creation of Adam. It is the worst of all the cycles and has been and is to be a period of bloodshed and tumults.

CXL. Mudāmī of Hamadān.[1]

In Hindūstān he was known as Ḥaidarī, and he wrote good *qaṣīdahs* in praise of Mīr Muḥammad, Khān-i-Kalān.[2] His discourtesy led him constantly into quarrels with everybody, and on this account he suffered much molestation. 342

The following verses are by him :—

"Majnūn did not know that a lover is disgraced in the world,
I am disgraced by love and devoted to being a lover."

"The new moon of 'Īd appears like a key
To open the lock of the wine-shop of the cupbearer on the evening of 'Īd."

"The lovely one with the green veil [3] has once more appeared from behind the curtain,
The bud laughs like the dawn, and the sun appears."

"I have on my breast, from my beloved's sword,
Lines [4] like those ruled on paper with a ruler."

CXLI. Muqīmī of Sabzavār.[5]

He was in the service of the Khān-i-A'ẓam.[6] He had a jovial disposition. After the conquest of Gujarāt he returned to his own country. The following verses are by him :—

"Happy is he whom she rates as her dog !
Although I am not so rated she sometimes thinks on me."

"We are lovers, and the end of the street of calamity is our refuge,
The world is full of the turmoil and din of our shouts.

1 Mudāmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.
2 Elder brother of Ataga Khān, *vide* p. 308, note 2.
3 The spring.
4 Literally *alifs*.
5 Muqīmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.
6 Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka. *Vide* p. 388 and note 2.

We dwell wherever grief and toil are heaviest,
Our place is wherever affliction and anguish are greatest.
Despite all the misery which we endure in our grief for her
She who is anxious concerning our hereafter desires our death.
343 We wander in the desert of grief for her, and the only shade that we have
Is that of our black lot which accompanies us in such days as these.
Thou didst say to Muqīmī coquettishly, 'I care for nobody.'
Aye, aye; with thy beauty how shouldst thou care for me?"

CXLII. ——— [1]

He was the son of Qāẓī Abū-l-Ma'ālī of the place of pilgrimage.[2] He was a melancholy youth who had adopted the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of annihilation [3] and was after the fashion of his father. He died of haemorrhoids in Lāhor.

He composed an opening couplet in imitation of an opening couplet by Shaikh Sa'dī (may his tomb be hallowed).

(Shaikh Sa'dī's couplet).

"Infidels, what do you expect from a lifeless graven image?
Worship awhile that Idol which has life."

(The poet's couplet).

"The dead are envious when thou stretchest out thy hand for thy sword
Saying, 'Death by that sword is the privilege of him who is alive!'"

[1] No name or takhallus is entered here, either in the MSS. or in the text. The passages which follow are printed in the text as a continuation of the life of Muqīmī, but they clearly refer to another poet, of whom I can unfortunately find no mention in any book to which I have access.

[2] *Vide* p. 210. The 'place of pilgrimage' seems to have been Bukhārā, so called probably because it was the burial-place of Sayyid Jalāl, seventh descendant of Imām 'Alī Naqī Alhādī.

[3] *Vide* p. 42 and note 1.

CXLIII. Maḥwī.[1]

Shortly after his arrival in Hindūstān he was in the service of the Khānkhānān, son of Bairam Khān, and then went on a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah. In the composition of quatrains he has no equal. The following quatrains are his:—

"So long as the ringlet falls over the moonlike face.
So long as the down on the cheek is as an army to the king of beauty.
Even if my house is built of bricks from the sun
The days of me in my wretchedness will pass in black misery."

"Once I knew not sorrow of the soul and the heart,
Once I knew not what it was to weep tears of fire; 344
Now thou hast left neither name nor trace of me,
O love! I did not know that thou wert thus."

Maḥwī, who has wandered far from the street of wisdom,
Has become a greater wanderer than a thousand Majnūms.
I saw from afar that lost one, wandering far from thee,
In a wilderness where the wind entered, into his blood."

[1] The name of this poet was Mīr Mughīṣ. He is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*: "He is a free-hearted and accomplished man. He arrived in Gujarāt and entered the service of Mīrzā Khān the Khānkhānān, and, helped and encouraged by him, set forth on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz." In the *Āīn* (i, 585) he is thus described, "Maḥwī of Hamadān. His name is Mughīṣ. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom." According to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* he was born in Asadābād (Hamadān) and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabīl, where he studied for four years at the *Āstāna-yi-Ṣafāviyya*. From youth he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalā, and Hirāt. He embarked at Bandar Jarūn for India, and after leaving the Khānkhānān's service went back to 'Irāq, where the author of the *Ma'āṣir* saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbalā and returned to Hamadān, where he died in A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607-08). It will be observed that the *Ma'āṣir* says nothing of his pilgrimage to Makkah. According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzarī* he is often called Nīshāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

CXLIV. Mazharī of Kashmīr.[1]

He has composed a *dīvān*. He now holds a post in the imperial service in his own country. The quality of his poetry may be estimated from the following couplets, which are, however, a very small selection :—

"The good fortune of thy beauty has prospered thy affairs,
Else thou wouldst not have known how to manage affairs successfully."

There is also this opening couplet by a master of poetry (from which Mazharī's couplet is evidently copied).

"Thou hast not understood what a firm covenant is,
Thou hast not understood what it is to be constant."

(The following verses are by Mazharī) :—

"May I be a sacrifice for that mirror which the enslaver of my heart
Keeps in her room, turned towards the rose-walks of the garden."

"Mazhar, be in the world as those that have no share in it,
And as for the rose, be, like the nightingale, satisfied with singing to it.
Satisfy thyself with the beauty of the world by looking on it,
345 Be, like the strangers, a guest who is content to gaze."

CXLV. Shaikh Muḥammad of Dihlī.[2]

He was unique in this age for his high lineage and his acquired

[1] Mazharī is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 584), 'He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irāq. From living with good people he acquired excellent habits.' Dāghistānī says that in 'Irāq he was in company with Muḥtasham and Wahshī. After his return to India he was employed by Akbar as Mīr Baḥrī of Kashmīr, which was evidently the employment to which Badāonī refers. He had turned *Shī'ah*, and, as his father was a *Sunnī*, they used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazharī died in A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609-10). The poet cannot be the Mazharī mentioned in vol. ii (text), p. 292, or Badāonī would have written more warmly of him here.

[2] I have not found elsewhere any mention of Shaikh Muhammad of Dihlī.

and inherited accomplishments. After many years of such acquaintance as can exist between men at a distance from one another, I was so fortunate as to have a chance meeting with him in the neighbourhood of the town of Bārī[1] in the year in which the victorious army set out for the conquest of the fortress of Citor; but owing to the shortness of the time at our disposal our interview and conversation, in spite of the great desire which I had to prolong them, did not last an hour, and he went on and I returned, but when I first set eyes on him I became aware of the nobility of his character. Although, considering his dignity, this mention of him among a string of poets is scarcely gracious, yet, as he sometimes amused himself with poetry, this opening couplet is quoted as a memorial of him :—

"If, in the day of my grief for thee, I should choose to exercise patience,
Since I have no choice in the matter say what I should do."

CXLVI. Nuvīdī of Turbat.[2]

He composed a *dīvān*, and also a *tarjī'-band*[3] satirizing Kucik Beg, the accountant of Bairam Khān, the letters of which a hundred storms like that which occurred in the days of Noah would not wash from the pages of this age. The following few couplets are by him[4] :—

"O thou, in whose glorious days time glories,
Khān, son of a Khān, chief, and high officer of kings, Bairām!

[1] A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *ṣūba* of Agra.

[2] Nuvīdī is not mentioned in the *Āīn*, and the only notice of him in the *Ṭabaqāt* is that he was for a long time at court.

[3] A poem composed of strophes, each consisting of any number of couplets from five to eleven. The two hemistiches of the first couplet of each strophe rhyme together and the remaining couplets rhyme with the first. At the end of each strophe is a refrain consisting of one couplet, the two hemistichs of which rhyme together, and which is the same throughout the poem.

[4] The verses which follow are certainly a satire on Kucik Beg, but they do not seem to be from the *tarjī'-band* mentioned, for they are not in the form of a *tarjī'band*.

The steed of perception cannot traverse the valley of thy understanding.
The noose of imagination cannot reach the battlements of the palace of thy glory.
I have a word to say: I will expound it unto the Nawwāb.
I have a difficulty: I will represent it to his servants.
346 Thou hast given the high post of accountant
To Kucik Beg. Say for what reason, O boast of mankind.
Thou art perhaps ignorant of his reprehensible acts,
Although inquiry into the characters of servants is a duty incumbent on governors.
He was an infamous boy, and conceited, a wine-bibbing libertine.
A lad ever hankering after gold, soft, and self-willed.
His business was the service[1] of Khwāja Amīr Beg the *Vazīr*.
Factor to the family of His Highness Mīrzā Bahrām.[2]
Other things are known about him from a certain source.
But I feel ashamed to reveal them before his honour the Khān.
To cut a long story short and to make an end quickly I will come to my tale.
And I will tell a tale regarding that mutilated[3] wretch.
Wherever he has been his conduct has been such
That he has brought upon himself the hatred of all, both gentle and simple.

[1] The word is apparently intended to bear a very ill meaning here.

[2] The reference is obviously to Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Isma'īl-i-Ṣafavī. He was a commander of five thousand and had Sambhal in *jāgīr*. The people in his *jāgīr* preferred complaints against his grasping factors, or collectors, and Muẓaffar, annoyed at this, applied for leave to go to Makkah. Akbar granted his request, but Muẓaffar repented of his resolve, and was reinstated in his *jāgīr*. New complaints were preferred and the *jāgīr* was resumed, Muẓaffar receiving an allowance in cash in lieu of it. The poet's object in referring to this is to show that Kucik Beg was educated in a very bad school.

[3] بی ندام Steingass gives the meaning of this word as 'out of proportion, but it is clearly intended to bear a much worse meaning here, and I have accordingly translated it more literally.

Oh on thy leprous body,' thus pray to God,
Both morning and evening, all the inhabitants of the heavens,
May there fall fever, colic, haemorrhoids, consumption, and dropsy,
Measles, intestinal worms, epilepsy, and delirium.
Then when thou haltest weak and feeble, seeking a cure,
May all the physicians prescribe for thee the following diet,
Simiae vomitum, decem dierum catuli stercora, 347
Ursi penem, felis caudam, et stercora sicca quibus calefiunt hypocausta.
Happy will that day be when thou art griped by colic, for which
The great physicians will prescribe an enema,
And the forefoot of an ass, the foot of a camel, the horn of a goat.
The scalp of a bear, the head of a mule, and the teeth of a hog.'"

He could also be abusively satirical in prose as the following story will show. One day when weary[1] he was seated on an old felt cushion and said to me before the court, 'Dog, dost thou eat filth before me?' I said, 'Surely it is lawful for any[2] dog to eat filth before you.' However, as Nuvīdī had but one eye I have closed my eyes to his baseness,[3] and if I have recounted his faults it was only because the road was opened to me by the author of the original *Taẓkirah*,[4] Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daulah; and although the recording of obscene language and the reckoning up of faults is not the custom of the author of this Selection, yet in this instance, with the object of indulging the love of a jest and keeping

[1] وا ماندہ (*vā-mānda*). The expression may possibly refer to the felt cushion, in which case it will mean, 'cast off.'

[2] کدام (*kudām*) is in Persian an interrogative pronoun, but here Badāonī clearly uses it, as is sometimes done in India, and always in Afghānistān, as an indefinite pronoun.

[3] In India a one-eyed man is supposed to be necessarily and unavoidably base, and therefore, as he cannot help himself, to be to some extent excused.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 239, no. 1.

up the merriment of the entertainment, I have blindly and exactly copied the passage from the original; and I hope that the clear-sighted men of this time will regard what they have seen as unseen and what I have done as though it had never been done, and will wink at my fault and my shame, and pass by it and pardon me, for 'Satire in speech is as salt in food' is a proposition accepted by all learned and well-informed men, and although some people, falsifying the text, read, instead of 'Satire,' '*Syntax*'[1] in speech,' the *Maqāmāt*[2] of Ḥarīrī clearly show that the first, and not the second, is the correct reading.

The following few verses are from Nuvīdī's *dīvān*, but I am not certain whether they are by this Nuvīdī, or by another[3] poet with the same poetical name:—

"I still have thy arrow, which I have had in my heart for an age,
I still have the plant of desire for thee which I received from thee;
348 I still have the fetter which at the very first
I, poor and distraught,
Received from that Laila-like beauty with the musky tresses.[4]
Though my eyes have become dim from weeping,
I retain the picture[5] of thee
In that same form which has ever been reflected in the mirror of my heart.
Take my hand, love, for an age.
My foot has been held in the valley of love's madness in the mire caused by my tears, as it was always held.
I, Nuvīdī, still have that heart like a bird struck by the arrow of her glance

[1] By the substitution of النحو (*An-naḥwu*) for الهجو (*al-hajwu*) which is done by the alteration of one letter and the displacement of one dot.
[2] The 'assemblies' of Ḥarīrī, a very famous work in Arabic.
[3] *Vide infra* Nos. CLII and CLVIII.
[4] The text has شمائل (*shamā'il*) 'qualities.' I prefer سلاسل, which is the reading of both MSS.
[5] Literally 'idea.'

Which I had long ago, rolling in dust and blood like a bird half slain.

Another ode.

"Longing for thy ringlet has made me restless,
I am at death's door. O come to my help!
I could endure thy cruelty all my life, but
Thy sitting with a stranger I cannot endure.
I restrain myself from weeping at the end of thy street
For I fear that the flood of my tears would sweep me away from the end of thy street.
Not for the twinkling of an eye does the restless longing for thy ringlet
Permit me to sleep during the night of absence from thee.
Nuvīdī, since my heart has become united[1] with grief for thee,
The confusion of all material things has left my remembrance."

Another ode.

"Though I die miserably from the ceaseless grief which is mine
I will make to the stranger no complaint of my misery.
If in love's delirium I declared to thee
The grief of my heart, pardon me, in thy mercy.
Nuvīdī wished to declare the grief of his heart to thee, 349
But when he saw thy face he forgot his grief."

Another ode.

"Before thy arrow is drawn from my wounded heart
My grief-worn life will leave me a hundred times.
Thy heart-piercing arrow has entered my wounded breast
With ease, but will with difficulty be drawn thence.
To the end of her street I, helpless in my weakness.
Go a hundred times, hoping to see her come out but once.
O Nuvīdī, from within thy patched woollen robe
If thou art a Musalmān why does the idolator's sacred thread appear?"

[1] This word جمع (*jam'*) might also be translated 'contented.'

A couplet.

"Thou hast no thought for the next world, nor for this,
Nuvidī, I know not how thou art employed."

CXLVII. Nishānī.[1]

He is Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, the son of Maulānā Ḥusain Naqshī of Dihlī, the seal-cutter, who was a learned man, saintly in religion, and was the instructor of the eldest prince.[2] Both father and son attained the greatest proficiency in this art (of seal-cutting), but especially the Maulānā named above ('Alī Aḥmad) whose own engraved seal is the exemplar of the age. Coins of which the dies have been cut by him are taken as talismans and relics to 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Transoxiana. He is endowed with the accomplishments of learning and with such perfections as a man can possess, but this lesser accomplishment and mercenary art (of seal-cutting) has obscured all his great natural gifts, and for this reason he has not received that training and that position
350 in military affairs and in the service of the state to which he is entitled. Had he attained the honourable rank which was his due he would have been in no way inferior to any of the more famous *Amīrs*.[3] He is deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy,

[1] Nishānī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a poet, but he is mentioned more than once in the *Āīn* as an engraver. Abū-l-Faẓl says of him, 'at this day, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel in such a manner as equals the copy slips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of commander of a hundred,' and again 'Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī who, according to all caligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nasta'līq* is charming, but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father, Shaikh Ḥusain, studied the manner of Maulānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all.' *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 22, 53.

[2] Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr. Ḥusain was probably his writing master.

[3] The meaning of this sentence according to the tenses used by 'Badāonī is, 'Having attained an honourable rank he is in no way inferior to the famous *Amīrs*,' but I believe that I have accurately rendered the meaning of Badāonī who has just been complaining that 'Alī Aḥmad did not receive the promotion which was his due

is an ardent seeker after knowledge, and is marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he is unrivalled.

Had he been a man of one pursuit many examples of his flowing verse would have been left on the page of time. He sometimes exercises his brilliant intellect and keen perception in the composition of verse, and has chosen a poetical name in consonance with his occupation. Since from the early days of my youth to the time of writing this selection, which is the period of my middle age,[1] or rather of my old age, I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship, and companionship, it is not unfitting that I should quote with appreciation, and at some length,[2] some of his profitable pieces of verse and prose. The following couplets are from his poems :—

"Until the down grew above thy life-giving lip
Masīḥ alone was there. Now that it has grown Khiẓr is in company with Masīḥ."[3]

"The censor yesterday broke the wine-jar, and poured forth the fiery water which it contained.
He gave my dust to the wind, and poured my blood on the dust."

"The wind brought news to my sad heart of my beloved.
Alas, no trust can be placed in the word of the wind."

"Sleep comes on me each night like a robber, my eyes become moist.

[1] كهولت (*kuhūlat*) literally 'laziness,' 'love of ease.'

[2] I am not quite sure of the correctness of this translation. The two words used are اسباغ (*isbāgh* and اشباع (*ishbā'*). The latter, which is an Arabic verbal noun in the measure افعال means 'satiating,' 'filling up,' 'dyeing.' I think that Badāonī means by it that he proposes to quote at length

[3] The special characteristic of our Lord, according to Muḥammadan belief, has already been mentioned, *vide supra*, p. 224, note 2. The meaning of this couplet is that the lip merely gave life until the down grew above it, after which it gave perpetual life.

But, when sleep sees that my heart still wakes in its grief for me, sleep quickly flees."

In imitation of this couplet I composed the following :—

"Fired by a hundred hopes I send a messenger to that cruel one,
I flee to God for refuge from the hour in which he will return from her without hope."

351 (The following couplet is Nishānī's) :—

"Since my bosom was wounded by the arrow of thy cruelty
I have not treated it with ointment, nor have I dressed the wound."

At the time when Gujarāt was conquered he engraved a coin-die for the emperor, and submitted it to him with the following chronogram :—

"O king! The coinage of Gujarāt is now struck in thy name,
May the shadow of thy justice be over the head[1] of that country.
Happy will be that moment when thou wilt ask of me the date (of its conquest)
And I shall reply, 'May the coinage of Gujarāt be auspicious!'"[2]

The following couplets are also by him :—

"It is a matter of life and death with me, and the beloved has not come.
My life, which is valuable to me, has become of no account."

"I have a wounded heart and the lovely ones bear salt (wit) on their lips;
This wound of mine will not be healed till eternity."

[1] MS. (A) has تبارک (*tabāruk*) which neither rhymes nor makes good sense. MS. (B) has تباراک (*tabārāk*) which is nonsense and neither scans nor rhymes. I have adopted بتارک (*bi-tārak*), the reading of the text.

[2] سکهٔ گجرات مبارک باد. The sum of the values of the letters is 980. Gujarāt was formally annexed on Sha'bān 14, A.H. 980 (Dec. 20, 1572); *vide* vol. ii (text) p. 142.

"Outward form and inward truth are not united in every king,
Akbar the emperor is the king both of outward form and inward truth.
He is the emperor at whose court, when he holds it,
King after king falls down in fear before the doorkeeper's staff."

"The heart in my bosom is not broken by the stone of calamities
For the glass of my (heart) is made of a diamond."

When the imperial camp was on its way to Kashmir for the first time[1] and I, having taken leave, went to Basāwar,[2] my birth-place, Nishānī wrote the following verses, and sent them to me 352
from that country (Kashmīr). God knows whether he wrote (the same verses) with the same warmth of feeling to several others, and pleased them also, but until another claimant appears I have made the verses my own.

A Maṣnavī.

"Whilst thou art far from me, O moon that illuminest my heart,
I sleep not at night and have no ease during the day,
My tears, rose-red with blood, trickle adown my cheek
Like tulips blooming in a field of saffron;
My eyelashes are tinged with the blood of my heart
Like branches of red coral showing their heads above the ocean.

[1] This was, apparently, the occasion on which Badāonī, in 1577, left the court at Rewārī, having received five months' leave of absence. He overstayed his leave by seven months and was never again received into favour. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 252.

[2] The text has 'Peshāwār,' which was certainly not Badāonī's birthplace. The correct reading is 'Basāwar.' According to Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 104, note 2), Badāonī was born at Badāon, but this is a mistake. He was born in Toda, but was taken soon after his birth to Basāwar, where he was circumcised (*vide* vol. ii, text, 236), and of which he always speaks as his birthplace.

Owing to thy absence the blood lodged in my heart, every moment.
Rises to my neck like liquid in a bottle;
Every breath burns with the fire of grief
And at each respiration throws forth from my bosom a flaming banner.
Now my eyes contend with the blood of my heart
And shed, instead of tears, sparks of fire.
These are not eyelashes that encircle my eyes,
They are the soot of my heart's fire around its chimney.
O thou of angelic disposition, from this sad journey
Which has carried the lives of my dear friends away on the breeze
Such languor has become the lot of my body and my heart
That I pay no heed to my body or my heart.
My body is disturbed by the pains of fever,
353 My heart within it is like fire in a furnace."

In reply to that boastful poem [1] of Shaikh Faiẓī's, which begins:—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide.
I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the fire-worshippers."

He wrote a *qaṣīdah*, from which the following couplets are excerpted:—

"Thanks be to God that I am a follower of the faith of the prophet,
The love of the prophet and of the race of the prophet is my guide.
I am disgusted with Brahmans, prayer-gongs, and Ahriman,[2]
I am a denier of the faith of monk, priest, and fire-angel,[3]

1 *Vide* p. 417.
2 The Principle of Evil
3 Āzar (آذر), the angel who presides over fire.

I believe in the day of resurrection, and in the resurrection of the dead,
I am hopeful of Paradise, of *ḥūrīs*, and of *Kauṣar*.[1]
O envious one, glance not towards me with contempt
Although in outward semblance I may appear contemptible.
I am a fierce flame. pass not near me.[2]
Since thou art not the Friend [3] set not thy foot on my fire.
Under my seal is the face of the whole earth.
I in this age am like the seal, with my head hidden within the collar of my robe. [4]
From east to west I am tempered with perfection,
From pole to pole I am the axis of every country.
The convex surface of the sky of excellence, even in the eyes of my enemy,[5]
Will never fit the concave surface which is bounded by my *ego*.
Though I dwell on the earth like an imaginary point
I am still the centre round which the spherical sky revolves.
The hand of fate has drawn, with the compass of time,
The circles of the seven heavens around my book. 354
Although I am less than the fixed point which is the centre
I am nevertheless more boundless than the circumference.
If my enemy performs a thousand of the magical tricks of Sāmirī [6]

1 A river in Paradise whence all the other rivers derive their source.
2 This hemistich and the one which precedes it have been carelessly omitted from the text. I have supplied them from the MSS.
3 Abraham, 'the Friend of God.'
4 *i.e.* as a seal has its head hidden in the wax when it is pressed on it.
5 The 'enemy' is Shaikh Faiẓī. I have been unable to translate literally this hemistich and the one which follows it, as a literal translation would not give the sense, which is that the poet's intellect is more spacious than the sky.
6 A great magician, the maker, according to the Musalmāns, of the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped. Vide *Qur'ān* c. xx.

I, like the serpent of the Speaker,[1] will overpower him in a minute."

He wrote the following couplet in praise of the prophet :—

"The seal of thy finality has broken the seals of old
And has introduced in its device a new and fresh design."

The following verses are selected from one of his poems concerning one of the great ones among those of our kind, ingenious in oppression[2] :—

"How long wilt thou boast saying, 'In magic
I am a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī'?[3]
Every breath of mine is one of the miracles of 'Isa,
A flame of light from the bush of Moses.[4]
In eloquence I am the phoenix of the age,
The teacher of all the eloquent.
Each breath of mine deprives magic itself of patience (in enduring its inferiority).
Each speech of mine is magic that would deceive angels.
I am the king of the kingdom of omniscience,
I am the wise man of the region of sublime realities ;
I am the jeweller who values the chain of rhetoric,
I am the assayer of the coin of eloquence.
All this am I. To-day, in this contest,
Thou dost but take a flame of fire on thy tongue.
Boast not that thou art the discoverer of spiritual truths,
Thou art no candle, let not the machinery of thy tongue be too well greased.
O thou who art formed of flame, of jewels of fine water,

[1] كليم (*Kalīm*) for كليم الله (*Kalīmu-'llāh*) 'the speaker with God' *i.e.* Moses. The reference is of course to Aaron's rod, Ex. vii, 9. 10. In the *Qur'ān* the rod is said to be that of Moses فَأَلْقَىٰ عَصَاهُ فَإِذَا هِيَ ثُعْبَانٌ مُّبِينٌ 'wherefore he (Moses) cast down his rod, and behold, it became a visible serpent' *Qurān* c. vii.

[2] Shaikh Faiẓī.

[3] A hemistich from one of Faiẓī's poems.

[4] The reference is, of course, to the burning bush, Exodus iii, *Qur'ān*, xxvii. 7-13.

Make no boast, since thou hast not even dust in thy pouch.
Although thy mind has knocked at the door of sense
No new conceit has fallen on our ears.
That which thou sayest has been said by others,
The pearls which thou stringest have been strung by others
For the house of verse which thou hast adorned
Thou hast borrowed both the water and the clay from others.
The painted ceiling which is in this house 355
Has its colours from a stranger's pencil.
Thy wit is like that of a gardener
Who lays out his garden with plants taken from others.
The verdure in that garden is from another lawn,
Each beautiful flower that blooms there is from another garden ;
Each bud of it, though it be life-cherishing,
Is sprung from the heart's blood of another than thee ;
The unfruitful willow which rears its head
Has drawn its leaves from that seed already decorated with designs of trees.[1]
Its freshness is from no rain which thou hast bestowed on it,
But is from the sweat of the brow of thy friends.
How long wilt thou burn with desire for the money of others ?
How long wilt thou glue thy eyes to the property of others ?
Collect not the cash of those who foster eloquence,
Fill not thy pouch with the gold of others.
Turn thy thoughts from the drink of others,
Drink water from thine own fountain.
If thou be Khiẓr, where is thy water of life ?
If thou be sugarcane, where is thy sweet branch ?
Like a date-palm thou raisest thy head to the sky,
But thou givest no fruit but dry date-stones.

[1] *i.e.* Faiẓī merely sowed the seed which had been raised by others.

The cypress whose head brushes the sky,
Is void of all flavour of fruit.
Why all this vaunting of thine own eloquence?
Why all this ridicule of a heart-broken one like me?
If I from shame open not my mouth
Do not attribute my silence to folly.
My breast does not contain a stone as does a ripe date,
I am like the oyster-shell, full of pearls, but close my lips.
If I release my tongue from its bonds
The eloquent will refrain from opening their lips.
Do not cast gibes at me as Satan did at Adam.
Consider my state and refrain from speech.
I am a Sāmirī, and can, by the power of my spells
And magical power, bring into existence a puppet form.
I can throw Venus and the moon into turmoil,
I can throw Hārūt's [1] magic scroll into his well.
I am all this,—a magician who is magic's self,
From whose words magic has been spread abroad.
I, who am famous for my words of magic,
Am myself the sky, the moon, and Venus.
Sāmirīs are in every curl of my hair,
Babylons are in the well of my magic.

[1] Hārūt and Mārūt were two angels who, having expressed their surprise at the wickedness of men, were sent down to Bābil (Babylon) to be subjected to the temptations to which men were exposed. There they learnt the magic of the Babylonians. Zuhrah (the planet Venus), or, according to others, a beautiful female of human kind, appeared before them with a complaint against her husband. Both fell in love with her and attempted to persuade her to admit them to her embraces. She flew up to heaven, and the angels followed her, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a pious man they were permitted to choose whether they would expiate their sin in time or in eternity. They chose the former, and are suspended, head downwards, in a well near Babylon until the day of judgment. If a man desires to learn magic he may go to them and hear their voices, though he cannot see them. This explains the reference to Venus. Nishānī means to say that he is so accomplished as a magician that he has nothing to learn from Hārūt, and could afford to throw the angel's magic scroll back to him in his well.

The wealth which springs from this work is mine, to my heart's desire, 356
The coin of this kingdom is struck in my name.
Learn from my speech the beauties of style.
Have no false shame: lay hold of a master's skirt.
He who comes as a true disciple to his master
Gathers in both worlds the treasure of happiness.
Not one line of thy verse is correct.
Thy verses are the laughing-stock of the eloquent.
Although nobody has told thee this to thy face
And nobody rakes up thy faults before thee,
Yet thy detractors, in thy absence,
Delight the meetings of eloquent men;
When thy verses are quoted among them
They pick out thy errors one by one.
They praise thy poetry to thy face
And curse and abuse thee behind thy back.
Thou art a friend of none and hast none for thy friend.
Thou hast, alas, no bosom friend to sympathize with thee,
To show thee what thy faults are
Or what it is (in thy verse) that thy auditors criticize."

When I was writing this memoir and asked Nishānī for some of his verses as a memorial of him he wrote me the following letter:—

"Having made the jewels of the mines of holy poverty and humility and the gems of the oceans of despondency and restlessness, which the jewellers of the workshop of yearning and the ocean rangers of the handicraft of taste have washed with the limpid water of sincerity and threaded on the string of supplication, a sacrifice to the joy-giving footsteps of that incomparable one of this age, that miracle of the mercy of Providence, whose heart, with its knowledge of hidden mysteries, is as a world-displaying cup [1] to prudent searchers after truth, and the mirror

[1] The reference is to the cup of Jamshīd which, according to Eastern fabulists, represented the whole world. In MS (A) this passage referring to Badāonī's qualities of heart and head is reproduced again in Nishānī's

of whose mind is the astrolabe of the astronomers of the Path, I humbly represent to those who are admitted to his heavenly assembly, that gathering where angels sit, swearing by God and
357 by the honour of God (He is blessed and exalted!), that by the blessing of the consideration which has been bestowed by that incomparable and unequalled Being on the leisure time of this humble one, by asking him to collect his scattered scribblings, I desire to give a hundred praises for the favour which he has shown to me. I am writing for his servants two fragments, one of prose composition, and the other of *maṣnavīs, et caetera*, and have half finished the work. Please God, I shall pack them up and despatch them to-morrow or the day after. For the present I have sent several couplets from that *maṣnavī* in the opening couplet of which the hemistich, 'I am a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī,'[1] occurs. Pray be pleased to correct it and to set aside what may be fit for reproduction. May you remain in health."

Among his letters was the following regarding the emperor's seal with its die containing the names of his majesty's great ancestors as far as the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction (Timūr), which he wrote and sent to me.[2]

"O outstripper of the swift runners of the subtleties of sciences in difficulties arising in the assemblies of the noble and the learned; shooter of the arrows of boundless knowledge from the bows of perfections against the globes of the hearts of high and low, striker of the disavowing ordinances with the swords of brilliant proofs, and opener of the doors of the obscurities of truths with the keys of convincing arguments; how art thou in this age, on every day of which people of penetration have known the signification of 'on that day shall a man fly from his brother and his mother and his father?'[3] Verily the object of the gaze of the aspirations

third letter to Badāonī, *vide infra*, 492. All the complimentary epithets and similes in this letter are applied to Badāonī. They are even more fulsome than is usual in Indian letters.

[1] *Vide supra* p. 486

[2] The following letter is in Arabic.

[3] يوم يفر المرء من اخيه و امه و ابيه *Qur'ān* lxxx, 34, 35.

of the people of this age is the defects of others. Verily the brethren of this age are searchers after the faults of others, and they do not regard their own faults; and this is owing to the hardness of their hearts, and the dulness of their hearing, and the 358 dimness of their sight. 'Their hearts and their ears hath God sealed up and over their eyes is a covering.'[1] How, therefore, should they know their own affairs, much less those of their brethren? And they are excused for they are led astray into this error. And tell me of thyself, of thy soul which is angelic in its disposition, in its goodness and purity, and, like the sun, diffusing rays and bright light, incomparable in natural and acquired talents, comprehending the truths both of creation and of creation's God; an epitome of precious and world-wide perfections; may God most High preserve it from all ills which can affect the body and all calamities which can befall the soul, with a perpetual and ineffable protection; and may the raised dust of detriment not settle on the skirt of its perfection. My employment from the 1*st Ẕī-l-Ḥijjah*[2] to the end of *Rabī'u-l-awwal*[3] has been the engraving of the seal of the just king, the perfect *Khalīfah*[4] on which are engraved his sublime titles and the names of his exalted ancestors as far as Amīr Timūr, the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction.[5] The seal is wide and round and contains eight circles, one in the middle, and the rest clustered around it."[6]

The following is a copy of a letter which he wrote from Lāhor to Shaikh Umam Ya'qūb of Kashmir:—

"It is not my heart alone that is the abode of longing for thee.
In desire for thee all the members of my body have become hearts."

[1] Qur'ān ii. 6.
[2] The twelfth month.
[3] The third month.
[4] Akbar.
[5] *Vide* p. 432, note 4.
[6] The circle in the middle was for Akbar's name, and the seven circles round it were for the names of his ancestors, *viz*:—
(1) Humāyūn, (2) Bābar, (3) 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, (4) Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, (5) Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, (6) Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrān Shāh, (7) Quṭbu-d-dīn Amīr Timūr Gūrgān, *Ṣāḥib-Qirān*.

Why should I complain of the power [1] of the spells of this old enchanter [2] sitting on a throne, wearing a patched robe, and dwelling in a lofty temple, who has, by the power of his magical incantations, brought the whole universe, from the fish [3] to the moon, into his blue glass bottle, and, having closed the mouth of that bottle with wax from the candle of the moon, has sealed it
359 with so many thousand seals that the foot of flight has no power to step from within it, and there is no hope of the hand of any helper from without reaching those within?

I have uttered many cries but no one comes to my assistance.

It is as though there were nobody in this turquoise vault.[4]

Perforce, therefore, I remain in the bonds forged for me from eternity, and place my head on the threshold of discipleship. And, since the country and the king are alike in this condition in relation to fate, it is evident that mankind in general, much less a solitary individual, can have but little power to move hand or foot in those bonds, or release himself from durance in its prison; unless it be a perfect religious leader and perfected guide, aided in various ways and by different means by divine guidance and divine inspiration. Such a man might, striving with the strength of divine assistance, and the aid of boundless struggles and ecstacies, free himself from this most dangerors of places, this most difficult of situations. But, in truth, in these days there is, save that incomparable one of the age, whose nature is endowed with auspicious attributes, angelic qualities, and holy signs of God's handiwork, who is a revelation of the marks of the mercy of Providence (His power is honoured), no perfect knower of God illuminated and adorned by the qualities described above.[5]

[1] I believe the text to be corrupt here. It runs چه نالم از دست شیون نیرنجات, literally 'why should I complain of the hand of the lamentation of the spells, etc.' My translation is conjectural.

[2] Fate.

[3] The fish on which, according to Eastern fabulists, the world rests.

[4] The sky.

[5] MS. (A) here inserts the passage mentioned on p. 490 note.

I hope that your holiness will, by your exalted [1] regard, free this hopeless prisoner in the bonds of the body and of outward forms, who is a unit not beyond the pale of human kind, from all bonds contrary to the laws of the prophet and intrusive upon the faith of the chosen one (on him be the most excellent of benedictions and the most perfect of blessings) and that you will sometimes, when you have leisure to think thereon, call him to mind in prayer for his attainment of his outward and inward desires, for his happiness both in things seen and things unseen, and for the accomplishment of his objects both in matters pertaining to the world and in matters pertaining to God; for there can be for him no other means but this of arriving at God and at the firm rope of the manifest religion. He hopes that God (He is praised and exalted), will, of His favour and perfect clemency, protect 360 and guard your holiness, with your dear sons and your honoured friends, from all the snares of the world and misfortunes of the age, and will preserve you over those who love you truly and those who follow you sincerely."

CXLVIII. Naṣīḥī.[2]

He was that Jamāl Khān, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badāon, who has already been mentioned. He was a young man of perfect orthodoxy and well known for the beauty of his form and his disposition. It may be said that love for him was the cause of the author's settling in Badāon. Had he not been transitory as the rose he would have left behind him many examples of his poetry, but death gave him not the opportunity of acquiring accomplishments.

The following verses are his:—

"Hear this well-weighed saying from one who was nurtured on love,

'He who dies of love is better than he who lives without love.'"

[1] عالي according to both MSS. The text has حالي which does not accord so well with the context.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. note

"My dark-eyed beauty, thou hast smitten me with a wound, whilst thou wert riding
I take delight in this love, for thou hast mortally wounded me."

In imitation of that opening couplet by the Khān-i-Kalān,[1] which begins—

"In my youth the harvest of my life was neglected in ignorance."

He wrote—

"Each Sulaimān who did not estimate himself less than an ant
Has at last gone away, as dust on the wind, and his wisdom of Sulaimān [2] has passed away."

CXLIX. Nihānī.[3]

She was but a woman.[4] She lived in Āgra and was the mistress [5] of Mahistī of Hirāt. The following opening couplet is by her:—

361 "I have found the day of grief and the night of pain to give little ease,
I have experienced much grief in these days."

Although the poets of the age have all attempted to answer this couplet none of them has equalled it:—

[1] *Vide* p. 396, note 1.

[2] The word used here سلیمانی (*Sulaimāni*) is not easy to translate. It signifies, for want of a better word, 'Solomonship,' *i.e.* all the wisdom, majesty, etc., which were associated with Solomon.

[3] *Nihān* means 'hidden,' and is formed into a *takhallus* by the addition of the *yā-yi-nisbat*. Poetesses in the East generally assumed some such *takhallus*; *e.g.* Akbar's second wife, Sultān Salima Begam, Jahāngīr's wife, Nūr Jahān and Aurangzīb's daughter, Zību-n-nisā, all wrote under the *takhallus* of Makhfī ('concealed').

[4] ضعیفہ ('weak woman'). The expression does not necessarily mean that she was ailing. It is one of kindly contempt.

[5] خویش It may possibly mean 'wife,' or 'near relation,' but I do not think that Badāonī would apply the term to a wife and I know of no authority for the latter meaning.

What manhood is this, that cannot cope with a woman?
Her son, Ja'far by name, is now an *Akhadī* in Kashmīr and has been appointed to the service of the *Mīr-i-Bahr*. He is an able youth.

CL. Najātī of Gīlān.

He came to Hindūstān and died here. He was proficient in poetry, and in the composition of enigmas. The following couplet is his:—

"O thou in whose absence my heart runs through fire, shedding its blood
Without thee I am sometimes visible in water (tears), sometimes hidden in fire."

The following couplet is an enigma on the name Abab:—

"Thy heart has not solved my difficulty.
Fie upon thy heart, for my heart has become water."

CLI. Mullā Nuvīdī.[1]

He has recently arrived at court, and is in the service of the Khānkhānān.[2] The following couplet is his:—

"That fate which wrote the record of the sins of the wine-bibber
Wrote also in the margin the good news of the Lord's pardon."

CLII. Nau'ī.[3]

He gives himself out to be one of the descendants of his holiness Shaikh Hājī Muhammad of Khabūshān, but his conduct be-

[1] *Vide supra* No. CXLVI.

The author of the *Tabaqāt* has evidently confused him with the poet there mentioned, for he attributes to the only Nuvīdī whom he mentions the couplet given here, and says of the poet, 'He was for a long time at the imperial court.

[2] Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, son of Bairām Khān.

[3] Nau'ī is thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i. 606) 'Nau'ī of Mashhad is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to he writes well.' Mullā Muhammad Fīzā came from Khabūshān, near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī*, he found a patron in Mīrza Yusuf Khān of Mashhad, but

lies his claim. He is now in the service of the youngest prince.[1]
362 The following verses are by him :—

"I am Nau'ī the wine-bibber, and after my death
My blisters will fester like the sun."

"Nau'ī's sorrow arises not from pain and grief
But from the exiguity of his stomach."

"Again has my desire taken the road,
That road in which even Khizr fears to walk,
The flowers of the plains about it are thorns of eyelashes
The stones in that road are the skulls of men."

CLIII. Niyāzī.[2]

He was a native of the pleasant city of Najār, but he comes of a base stock. He was quarrelsome and impudent, and confirmed by his behaviour the general belief regarding the character of poets. He was well skilled in the arts of poetry and prosody, in the composition of enigmas, in history and all other minor branches of knowledge, and has written treatises on these subjects. On the first occasion on which he paid his respects at court to the late emperor he stepped towards him at the levée with his left foot. As his late majesty was very punctilious in such details of etiquette he said, 'The Mullā is left-handed,'[3] and commanded him

soon afterwards entered the service of the Khānkhānān, and stayed with him and prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpūr. For his Sāqīrāma the Khānkhānān gave him an elephant and a present of ten thousand rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. The *Khizāna-yi-'Āmira* says that his *maṣnavī* entitled *Sūz-u-Gudāz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. Nau'ī had not arranged his *qaṣīdahs* and *ghazals* in the form of a *dīvān* when he died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610).

[1] Sulṭān Dāniyāl.

[2] Niyāzī is thus described in the *Ṭabaqāt*. 'Mullā Niyāzī of Samarqand spent some time in the service of the emperor Humāyūn, and then entered the service of the *Khalīfah* of God (Akbar). He spent most of his life in Thatha. He was well-acquainted with the art of poetry, and wrote books on most arts.'

[3] The text has ملّا چپ است with a variant ملّا چپ دست است. The

to be led out and again brought forward. After the command had been given for him to be seated he began to talk lewdly, obscenely, and foolishly, and fell into an argument with Mullā Bīkasi.' To Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy the *Ṣadr*,[2] who took the part of the *Mullā* he 363 said, 'What shall I do? I am friendless. The face of a friendless man is blackened';[3] and when Khwāja Husain of Mary,[4] on whom rested some slight suspicion of infamy, supported the other two he said, 'Khwāja, what occasion was there for your assistance?'[5] His late majesty, much vexed and annoyed by this churlish behaviour, rose and left the *darbār*, but, in spite of his annoyance so great was his clemency that he would not consent to Niyāzī's being injured or harassed in return for his evil and beastly conduct. The reason for Niyāzī being turned out of Transoxiana was an ode which he wrote, of which the closing verses run as follows :—

"That is not the crepuscule that appears in the sky; it is my rosy-coloured wine
I am a debauchee swilling the lees, and the goblet of the sky is my cup.
Since Niyāzī has become the king of the age in the kingdom of eloquence
The name of Jāmī has been obliterated, and that of Niyāzī is in its place."

It is said that he was one day reciting this ode of his in a gathering at Thatha and there happened to be there a copy of the *dīvān* of his holiness the *Maulavī*.[6] It was opened at random and

latter is correct Niyāzī seems to have committed a serious breach of court etiquette.

[1] *Vide* p. 268. [2] *Vide* p 378.

[3] بیکس (*bī-kas*) means 'friendless' and بیکسي (*bī-kasi*) 'friendlessness' or 'a friendless man.' The last sentence of this speech might be translated. 'The face of Bīkasī is blackened,' and it was this that Niyāzī intended to convey.

[4] *Vide* p. 248.

[5] This speech suggests a most obscene *double entendre*, having reference to Khwāja Husain's reputation. It may be translated, 'Eunuche, quae occasio est praebendi teipsum amplexibus eorum?'

[6] *i.e.* Jāmī.

on the page at which it opened this opening couplet was written:

"Regard the sky as a cup which is upside down, empty of the wine of delight
To look for wine from a cup which is upside down is the mark of a fool."

Niyāzī olim Fusunium poetam in somnio vidit et putavit se in barbâ ejus minxisse. Poeta quidam hos versiculos recitavit,

"Niyāzī Fusunium in somnio vidit.
Et barbam ejus aquâ ex amphorâ aspersit.
Si autem minxit Fusunio opprobrio ne tribuatis,
Canis, si minxit in rubo, minxit."

364 The following verses are by Niyāzī:—

"O silver-bodied one, thy locks curl over thy flaming cheek
For when a hair falls on the fire it twists and curls."

"Since I cannot go round the head of that tyrannical beauty,
I bring her image to my sight and ever go round about it."

"It is not from the breeze that her shift is in motion,
The grace of her body has given life to the shift."

He died in Thatha.

CLIV. Nāmī.[1]

This is the poetical name of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Ṣafavī, the orthodox and noble son of Mīr Sayyid Ṣafā'ī, who was one of the great Sayyids and respected elders of the city of Bhakkar.

[1] Mir Muḥammad Ma'ṣum is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a pious young man and a friend of the author's. He belonged to a family of Tirmiẓī Sayyids who, two or three generations before his time had left Tirmiz in Bukẖārā and settled in Qandahār, where his ancestors were trustees of the shrine of Bābā Shir Qalandar. His father settled in Bhakkar and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After the death of his father poverty compelled Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣum to leave Bhakkar and he went to Gujarāt where he was introduced to Kẖwāja Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt*, then *dīvān* of Gujarat. He was also introduced to Sẖihāb Kẖān, governor of Gujarāt, and was recommended to Akbar for a *manṣab*. He served in Gujarāt in

Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sum is at present enrolled among the *amīrs* of the empire, and holds some appointment in the imperial service in Sind and Qandahār. He is very strict in religion, in piety, praise and prayer, and in reading the *Qur'ān*, and somebody once said to him, 'One cannot do without a director in these duties. You should get a director and receive instruction from him, and you can then take your leave of him.' Nami replied, "I have at present two or three directors, what need have I of another? My first director was his majesty, for this reason, that when I came[1] from my dear native land to the capital I was so filled with the pride and aspirations of youth, which are the sources of extravagant hopes and desires, that I could not bring myself to consider the acceptance of anything so humble as a commandership of a thousand, or even of two thousand. When I arrived at court I tasted the sticks of the ushers and mace-bearers who 365 keep order, and had to endure insults. and when, after a long period of expectation, his majesty honoured me by bestowing on me a command of twenty men, all my extravagant claims took wings to themselves, and I, recognizing my proper rank and place, resigned myself to God's will, and bowed my head in acquiescence, and was at peace; and there is that proverb, "Although I struggled much to become somebody I became nothing, now I let myself alone in order that I may become whatever I am to become."

A.D. 1584, and was present at the fight of Maisana, and in the final expedition against Muẓaffar in Kacch. In the fortieth year he was a commander of two hundred and fifty. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1602 as ambassador to Persia, where he was well received by Sẖāh 'Abbās. On his return from Persia in 1606 Jahāngir sent him as *amin* to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar the command of a thousand. He was skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions. He was best known as a poet and historian. He composed a *dīvān*, a *masnavī* entitled *Ma'dan-i-afkar* in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Makẖzanu-l-asrār*, the *Tārikẖ-i-Sind*, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufrādāt-i-na ṣāmī*. The *Riyāẓ-ush-Shu'arā* and Taqi's *Taẓkirah* say that he composed a *Kẖamsah*, viz. the *masnavī* already mentioned, the *Ḥusn-u-Nās* corresponding to Niẓāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā*, the *Pari-surat* to the *Laila-u-majnūn*, and two others in imitation of the *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandarnāma*.

[1] The words from "my first" to "I came" have been most carelessly omitted from the text, though they are in both MSS. and the whole passage is nonsense without them.

"I am not grieved that my affairs have not turned out well
but have turned out ill,
'It will be, it will be' never comes to pass Say
'Be not,' and see what comes to pass."

No other religious director could possibly have given me better direction than this. My second director was Mīr Abū-l-Ghais of Bukhārā,[1] who in rank and dignity was many degrees greater than I, for until the time when I made his acquaintance, if my horses missed their corn and grass for one day I would be so vexed and angry that I would turn my head away from everybody, and not speak a word to any one; but after I fell into the company of the Mīr I observed that sometimes, for three or four consecutive days, there was neither corn nor grass in his stables, nor the smoke of any fire in his kitchen, and in spite of this state of things, he was so cheerful, merry, and jovial that no suggestion of his indigence and actual want was conveyed to anybody, and nobody was in a position to talk about his affairs. Wealth and want were always alike to him.

Take refuge from the shocks of fate among those *Ṣūfīs*
Who grieve for existence and rejoice at non-existence.

366 I then began to console myself by the thought that if times were so hard with this great man and yet made no difference to him, I had a much better reason for being cheerful and happy, seeing that I had not a hundredth part of his state and pomp to keep up. My third director is a slave-girl bestowed upon me by the emperor. Quum enim, instantibus vel diaboli insidiis vel desideriis naturalibus, me sentio, sive oculorum micantium sive libidinis indulgentiae causâ, ad stuprum tractum, statim domum reversus cum eâ rem habeo, unde quiescit cor meum; et, corpore aquâ loto, mundus fio. And a director has no greater duty than that of restraining a person from unseemly and unbecoming acts.

The Mīr is a most diligent student and has correct taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He is high-minded and sublime in disposition. He has composed a *dīvān*, and a *masnavī*[2] in the metre of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* (of Nizāmī).

[1] *Vide* page 183

[2] This was the *Husn-u-Nāz*.

The following few couplets are productions of his brilliant imagination:—

"How sweet it is to think that when I am beside myself with love thou wilt come to ask my condition.,
And I shall explain it at length to thee in the speech in which no tongue has part."

"When she saw my tears she concealed her smile
It is clear that my tears are not without their effect."

"In love there is an intoxication which revives tired lovers.
In absence there is a subtle delight which even union lacks."

"My moon-like beauty gave her message to the messenger with a laugh.
The trace of that laugh still lingers in the message which she sent."

He sent the following *qaṣīdah* in praise of the prophet from Aḥmadābād to me in Āṭak:—

"The scar of love which has been on my heart from eternity.
Has been changed, by the blessings which even thy absence 367
can bestow, to naught but pain.
The flood of fire which my heart in its pain heaved up.
Has thrown confusion into the temperament of the earth and the age.
The remembrance of my grief for thee gives me a taste of sweet sorrow
The flavour of thy absence from me gives me an idea of the sweet savour of death.
Happy is he who has set his foot in the path of love.
For he enjoys delights without sight, and a love without arts.
If thou find thy way to the Laboratory of Creation thou shalt see
Both creation in action and love transformed to deeds.
My disquiet has drawn me from love to madness,

Until at length I have become, through thee, a byword for madness.
I have poured from my heart so much hot blood that it has cast
All my life, entirely, and utterly, into a fiery slough.
My love for thee has thrown a thousand knotty difficulties in my path
But has not yet solved even one of the difficulties caused by thy absence.
On the one hand the fear of death offers the intoxication of absence from thee.
On the other the delight of reunion with thee offers me the fruition of all my hopes.
Though the dead have not risen the tumult of the resurrection has arisen.
From the fire which has flamed up from my heart.[1]
The eyes of a whole world are suffused with blood by that eyelash of thine.
A whole people is sleeping in dust by reason of that collyrium-tinged eye of thine.
In both worlds have I lighted the fire of madness.
368 But I have not given in my ode a hint of the secrets of thy love.
That heart which I had, steeped in the love of thee
Is melted into blood and poured out on my body.
From my grief in thy absence I have at the end of each eyelash a cloud which rains sparks.
I have in my breast a hundred heaps of fire which burn in thy absence.
The eyes of the age have no employment but to gaze upon thee
The eyes of principalities and powers are smitten with love in thy service.
I desire to be released from the hell of separation from thee
By him who wipes out infidelity, who protects the faith, and who guides peoples in the right way.

[1] Literally, 'liver.'

The king of Najaf, 'Alī, the saint, the king who passes not away [1]
He it is whom the cash of all the prophets has gained for the world.
He is the moon from whom the sun receives his light,
He is a lion beneath whose feet the lion of the heavens lies in the mire.
His protection has thrown up a fortress around the people of the world
From which, except by death and by the gate of death, no one can pass.
If the arm of the sky should feel, even in a dream, the strength of thy grasps, it would pluck from its joint [2] its withered hand.
When thy majestic shout reaches a mountain range
It reverberates, coiling like a whip lash about the mountain masses.
If one dot of the *qāf* [3] of thy power could be weighed against *Qāf* (Causasus)
The dot would take the place of Qāf, and the scale of Qāf 369 would fly up as high as Saturn.
If thy hand should check the reins of eternity without end
It would fall a thousand stages behind eternity without beginning.
The tree of the sky is but one leaf from the garden of thy power.
The garden of the world is but half a mound from the cultivated area of thy munificence.
Thy age has so sweetened the disposition of the world
That it is no longer possible to distinguish between poison and honey.

[1] The text has لافتى. I believe لافتي or لافتا to be the correct reading.
[2] Literally 'root.'
[3] The word قدر ('power') begins with the letter قاف (*qāf*) which has two dots. The poet means to say that one dot from one of the letters of the word denoting 'Alī's power would far outweigh Mount Caucasus.

If thy auspicious glance should fall by chance on an onion.
The world beside it appears less than an onion.
In this thy age thy *Ẓū-l-faqār*[1] explains to thy enemy and thy 'Yea, verily' to thy petitioner the meaning of 'Nay and 'Yea.'
If through thy mind there pass but the semblance of wrath.
Death trembles like a willow from fear.
The sky of thy might has such width that the sun
Would not wonder could be find shelter behind it as behind a lofty mountain.
If thy dagger lend its tongue to the sword of discipline
Woe be to the sky with its crooked dealings. its fraud and its many deceits.
Since eloquence is decked as a bride for thy praise,
I have decked her with striped garments of flowery speech.
Woe to thee Nāmī, and woe to those who shall arise with thee,
When the black book of your acts is opened before you at the resurrection!
I am hopeful of obtaining a mediator like the sun
370 On that day on which there shall no longer remain any shadow of hope,
Him who is the rain from the cloud of God's mercy, the cup-bearer of the Day of Resurrection.
The greatest protection of the faith, and the lord even of death."

Quatrains.

" One should sit alone with one's self in the assembly,
One should commune ever with one's self,
One should be both the nightingale and the rose of the meadow.[2]
One should be distraught with one's own affairs "

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[1] The sword of 'Alī.

[2] *i.e.* 'One should be both the nightingale which sings to the rose and the rose which listens to the song.'

" Thou hearest the shout of departure from all
Thou hearest the cry 'Come on' both before and behind
All have made a night march to a distant halting place
Whilst thou hast slept by the road and hearest but the sound of the bell."

" O thou who desirest a glimpse of that Face,
Thou needest eyes other than those in thy head.
Dost thou wish to miss none of those Glances?
Thou must have eyes in the heart, and within them yet other eyes."

" The love of thee is not to be bought by every buyer
The price of one hair of thine is this world and the next.
Thy love is not a rose which blooms in streets and markets,
Nor is it such musk as is found in the perfumer's shop." 371

" Those complainest of the defilements of the world.
Find not fault with others, for thou, too, art one of the throng.
Preserve thine own skirt from defilement
Nāmī, for the two or three days which thou hast to spend on this midden."

" In loving lovely ones one must accustom one's self to madness,
One must lead one's soul to the endurance of separation.
One must become as a bottle filled with blood,
And then pour one's heart out at one's eyes."

" In our religion thou must ever be constant
And keep the faith while in the circle of infidelity.
This is the path of love of our beloved,
To stand ever with the sacred thread of idolatry round the neck, and yet remain a Musalmān."

" A rose-garden of beauty is the cheek of my enslaver.
When it displays itself before my wounded heart

I weep seas upon seas and worlds upon worlds of blood,
I blossom with gardens upon gardens and meadows upon meadows of roses."

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372 "On the day on which I arise, crying out for grief at her absence
The hand of my heart is twisted in the skirt of separation.
With those tears which are mingled with my heart's blood.
I shed on my skirt the blood of two thousand hearts."

"In the ocean of my heart a sea of blood is in turmoil,
A hundred hells of pain are burning within me.
I shall strike fire into the structure of the world
From this madness which burns within me."

"Seek not a sweetheart lest thy whole heart turn to blood,
Lest thou be not hers until thou art completely changed.
Lest thou become distracted, arranged, and mad,
Lest thou depart completely from the fashion of the age."

"Although the seekers after His beauty are many
Not every eye is worthy to catch a glimpse of the Face of the Friend;
Not all idolatry is worthy of the sacred thread,
Nor is every head worthy of adorning the gibbet."

"Every moment my heart arranges its thoughts of thee,
And makes a thousand guesses as to where thou art.
373 I fear, my love, that the bird of my soul
Will one day fly from its cage in the desire to be with thee.'

"O thou who hast laden thy camel,
And hast fallen asleep, forgetful of the march,
Wake, and set in the road the foot of search,
For all have gone and thou too art of this caravan."

"To-day the breeze has a scent of fidelity,
As though it knew something of love.
It has thrown my poor mad heart into a turmoil
Perchance it has somewhere found cause to be disturbed."

"At times I weep; at times I cease from weeping,
Lest haply from somewhere I should hear thy voice,
Not for a moment am I free from thoughts of thee,
I sometimes fear that I may forget to draw my next breath."

"The eyes should know the meaning of grief,
The heart's pain should be set forth in weeping,
In the breast should be sparks of fire instead of a heart,
The heart,[1] instead of tears, should be in the eyes."

"Every year, when the rose comes again into the garden, 374
Joy and gladness come into the world;
On the rose's page it is easy to read her faithlessness.
For the nightingale breaks into lamentations."

"One quarter of my life was spent in ignorance,
One quarter of it was spent thou knowest how,
One quarter of it was spent in folly and idleness,
And one quarter was spent in grief and repentance."

"My heart is wounded in a hundred ways by grief for thy absence.
In thy absence I feel that the tumult of the day of resurrection is before me.
I draw in my breath, but exhale it not again,
For between my lip and my heart are more than a thousand hells."

[1] Literally, 'liver'

"Every tear which I have shed from my eyes
I have first mixed with the poison of my grief for her absence.
I fear that at the resurrection a hell will arise
From these tears which I have shed in her absence."

"How long wilt thou fill thy heart with wrath on account of one thing or another?
375 How long wilt thou make thy breast no more than a coffer of gold?
Thy business is not to make thy heart turbid;
Thy business is to make it as clear as a mirror."

CLV. Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr.[1]

In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of Shikībī of Iṣfahān. He is now in the service of the Khānkhānān,

[1] In the *Ṭabaqāt* Nazīrī is thus described, 'Maulānā Nazīrī is from Nishāpūr and is not devoid of freshness of intellect. He has written many tasteful verses. He was formerly in the service of the Khānkhānān, but now he has gone to Makkah.' Abū-l-Faẓl thus describes him in the *Āīn*, 'He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man, but he also desires plans for the architecture of the heart.'

Muḥammad Ḥusain Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he held poetical contests with several poets, such as Fahmī, Ḥātim, and others. He then went to India, where he formed a patron in Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, Khānkhānān. In A.D. 1603–04 he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India he lived at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt where he died in 1613. Jahāngīr says in his Tūzuk (p. 91) 'Some time before this (early in A.D. 1611) I had summoned to court Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr who is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and at present lives in Gujarāt as a merchant. He now arrived and paid his respects, and presented to me an encomiastic *qaṣīdah* in the model of a *qaṣīdah* of Anvarī's, in return for which I presented him with a thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honour.' The *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* says that Nazīrī was a skilful goldsmith, and that he died, after having seen his patron in Āgra, in A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613) at Aḥmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mir'ātul-l-'Ālam he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. For the couplet written concerning him by the famous poet Ṣā'ib see *Āīn*, 580 n.).

and is enrolled in that band of poets who are entitled gentlemen of the suite. In imitation of that *qaṣīdah* by Shaikh Niẓāmī of Ganja (may God rest his soul,) which begins,

"I am king of the kings of learning, by means of the excellence of my grace of language
The earth and the age have taken on themselves the likeness of the sky,"

he wrote the following *qaṣīdah*:—

"I can scarcely contain myself in my excellence when the wine of my songs in its vat
Rends the clothes on my body, when sublime realities seethe within me.
Waylay me not with foolish stories, for, with the fire of high resolve.
I desire to raise[1] steam from my brain and my eyes throughout the night.
I have become the trusted adviser of those who hasten towards reunion (with the Beloved)
For I never return a boastful answer.
I am the dog of the threshold, but all night I gnaw my collar,
For the desire of hunting seizes me, not the intention of watching."

The following verses also are by him:—

"Although for an age I have girt up my loins in thy service what rank have I gained?
I should have become a Brahman had I so often girt myself 376
with the sacred thread."

"I travel on a deadly road, not knowing to what end it may lead.

From what has been said it will appear that Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, who died on November 18, 1594 (*vide* vol. ii, text, p. 397), some ten years before Nazīrī left for Makkah has anticipated Nazīrī's pilgrimage. It is possible that the short accounts of the poets in the *Ṭabaqāt* received some additions after the death of the author.

[1] The text has كنند, but the sense demands كنم.

How shall the foot which has travelled this road ever again return to one's skirt ?"

See the effects of my (burning) sigh, which has not yet reached my lips,

And yet a thousand blisters from my heart are on the tip of my tongue."

CLVI. Navā'ī.

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf. His brother was Mīr Qudsī of Karbalā, who wrote the following couplet :—

"Wonder not if I know not the taste of gladness,
I, Qudsī, have never known gladness in my life."

Navā'ī came to India and at once entered the service of the emperor. He has recently died. The following verses are by him :—

"I am sitting in a corner, grieving over thy faithlessness
And resigning myself to the hardship of separation from thee.
For all thy wrath I will not move from my place.
What shall I do ?
For I have no confidence in thy familiarity.
Thou art not, in the way of kindliness and fidelity, that candle
At the light of which the eyes light up with joy."

"I reached no place, I traversed no road,
But thou didst traverse my heart and reach my heart."

"Sit down with friendly glances, and rise not up in wrath,
Thou camest late to inquire for me, rise not soon to go."

CLVII. Nuvīdī of Nīshāpūr.[1]

He was a man of considerable attainments, and was highly regarded as a poet. His death occurred in the city of Ujjain in the province of Mālwa in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) while he was on

[1] *Vide* p. 478

his way to perform the pilgrimage The following verses are by him :—

"If my rose-coloured tears have marked the ground with purple stains
They cannot be removed, for these are the flowers of true love."

"The new moon on the night of *'Īd* wished to become the knocker on thy door ;
It conceived from afar the desire, which was never fulfilled."

"What delight there is in seeing thy face each moment
What joy there is in coming, each moment, to thy street.
Such a bond connects me with thee
That it cannot be cut by a hundred swords.
Nuvīdī, what hast thou gained from her ruby lip
Save the biting of the finger of regret."

CLVIII. Naẓmī of Tabrīz.[1]

The lustre of his poetry is vouched for by his trade, which is that of an appraiser of jewels. He has a mind well adapted to poetry and has composed a *dīvān*, which is well known.

The following verses are his :—

A quatrain.

"She is a capricious beauty whose lips are full of wiles,
All the clear-sighted are smitten with love's madness by her ;
Is that a red turban which she has bound on her head ? 378
Or is it the cord of my soul steeped in blood ?"

"The scar of my love's cruelty, which is on my breast—
Ah, call it not a scar ! It has long been dear to me."

"How can I write an account of my condition on the page ?
For the page is at once moistened by my tears.

[1] Naẓmī is not mentioned either in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The pigeon brought me thy letter and I live. I should have died
Had not that bird of auspicious pinion brought me that letter.
I shall write at length to her of Nazmī's state
But where will that careless cypress-like beauty cast an eye on the letter?"

"In the bath I saw Parī Khānum with a face like a fairy,
Nay, I saw a spark of fire sitting in the water."

"From thy theft of my heart and thy subsequent avoidance of me it is clear
That the sole object of thy friendship with me was the theft of my heart."

"The down which sprouts on the rose of my beloved's cheek
Is a violet which sprouts on a bed of tulips."

CLIX. Vuqū'ī of Nīshapūr.[1]

He was a relation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān[2] and his name was Muḥammad Sharīf. Alas, that such a noble[3] name should be borne by such a vile fellow! For he was more heretical than any person who, in this brief age, was known by the same

[1] Muḥammad Sharīf Vuqū'ī belonged, according to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīm*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nīshāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amīr Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time Assay-master under Shāh Ṭahmāsp

[2] A relation and friend of Akbar's foster-mother, and one of the leading nobles at Court. He was commander of Dihlī from the beginning of Akbar's reign and was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khān. He was successively governor of Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Mālwa again, and in A.D. 1576 was made a commander of five thousand. He died at Ujjain in Mālwa in A.D. 1590-91. His wife, Bābū Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother. She died in A.D. 1596-97. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 332; Badāonī vol. ii (text), 36 *et passim*.

[3] Sharīf means 'noble.

name[1]. He was not a *Basākhwānī* pure and simple nor a *Ṣabāḥī*[2] pure and simple, but was betwixt and between these two sects damned by God and cursed by the people, and believed in cycles[3] and held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, nay, he contended and strove for these doctrines. One day in Bhimbar,[4] which is a city on the border of the highlands of Kashmīr, he came to my lodging in order to ask me to accompany him into Kashmīr. He saw some slabs of rock, weighing over thirty-five tons[5] each, lying about, and said sorrowfully. 'These unfortunates are awaiting the time when they shall put on human form.' In spite of all these vile beliefs he has written *qaṣīdahs* in praise of the holy *Imāms* (may the acceptance of God be on them all), but these must have been written when he was young. In penmanship, letter-writing and accounts he had wonderful skill, and although he was not studious he had devoted some attention to Arabic works on history and had acquired familiarity with their style. The following few couplets are by him:— 379

"In order that my lamentations in thy absence may not betray my secret,
I pray that my weakness may utter no sound in the night of my sorrow."

"How will shame allow me to raise my head when thou seest me?
For my love for thee has made thy name the talk of all tongues.

[1] Such as Sharīf-i-, Sarmadī of Iṣfahān and Sharīf-i-Amuli (*vide* p. 340 both heretics in Badāonī's eyes. See also vol. ii (text), p. 245

[2] I have not been able to discover what the distinctive doctrines of the *Ṣabāḥis* were, but they were evidently regarded by Badāonī as vile heretics. For mention of the *Basākhwānīs vide* p. 283 note 4.

[3] That is to say, the changes of the natural kingdoms, animal, vegetable and mineral, in various cycles. Vuqū'ī's remark on the rocks, which follows shortly, indicates the nature on his belief on this point.

[4] A *pargana* town on a stream of the same name in the Cinhat Dūāb in the Panjāb. The stream flows four miles N.W. of Gujarāt and eventually joins the *Jalālia nālā*, a branch of the Cināb.

[5] The original has 'a thousand *mans* each.' A thousand *mans* are 35⅝ tons.

The torment of the stranger's hard-heartedness has cast fire into my heart
For though thou afflictest him a hundred times he turns not to thee."

"Beneath the wound of thy sword I flinch not intentionally;
It may be that I give thee some knowledge of my weakness."

"She reminds me of the restlessness which I suffer in her absence,
One would think that once in the days of my youth she had asked me how I did." [1]

"For each one of the fair that I see I experience such ecstasies of love,
That the fire of desire for her leaps into flame in my soul." 380

"Every hour thou accusest me of some fresh fault,
As thou seekest only to vex me I wonder not at this."

"I wish not to be questioned at the day of judgment,
For I fear that I should have to tell what I have suffered in my love for thee."

"Thou vexest none but me, and I am glad
That thou hast such dealings with none but me."

"In the night of absence from thee I suffer grief in a hundred forms,
In the midst of the sighs and lamentations which my mouth [2] utters."

"One can see from without the burning of my heart in my body,

[1] The poet means to say that he could hardly venture even to long his beloved had she not once shown him some slight mark of favour.
[2] Literally 'head.'

As one sees the flame of a candle in a lamp covered with a shirt.
I fell as one dead when I bade thee farewell,
That thou mightest know that in thy absence I have no desire to live."

The following few couplets are from a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote in praise of the Imām Ḥusain (on him be peace):—

"Whenever, from the fierceness of love's fire, I burst into flame like a candle,
The flame ever and anon beats against me like a moth.
Since my love has assured himself of my fidelity and love he employs himself in cruelty.
Would that I had never submitted myself to the violence of a test!
If I should become a partaker of the bounty of thy heart
It will be possible for me to convey a hundred tales in one word.
So common has the content of opulence become in the age of thy magnanimity
That the soulless body turns with loathing from the prospect of life eternal 381
When the weight of thy commands affects the nature of the wind
Even the light breeze oppresses the earth with the weight of a mountain.
There is no king like me to-day in the kingdom of eloquence,
Whoever doubts this let him test the truth of what I say by this *Bismi'-llāh* [1] which I utter.
O ye, beloved of the virgin of reality, when my thoughts soar
They display their beauty through the windows of heaven."

From another *qaṣīdah*,

"If cruelty is done by thee my heart cheerfully submits to it.

[1] 'In the name of God,' the formula used in beginning any work. The poet represents what he has said as merely an introduction to what is to follow.

It may be that God will yet give thee a feeling heart.
I die of jealousy when I consider that love for thee
Gives to each heart which it enters pain eternal.
By night when I light my heart with thoughts of thee
The burning glow of my heart is a lamp to the seven heavens."

He wrote this *qaṣīdah* in praise of her holiness the lady who is the shining one of paradise and the chief of women, [1] (may God accept her), but when it came to me in this form I found it to be one of his blasphemous compositions, and I have therefore not considered it right to quote any of the encomiastic couplets. Sharif's death occurred in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94.). He left many valuable books behind him, but they were lost in the deep sea and found their way to the ocean which surrounds the world.

CLX. Vidā'ī of Hirāt.

He was possessed of some attainments. He came to Hindūstān and died here. The following verses are his:—

382 "The land of Ind is full of darkness, like the night of separation.
Whoever has come hither regrets and repents it.
Vidā'ī, seek no gain from the land of India, but leave it.
It is gain enough if thou carry thy life in safety from India."

In imitation of the couplet which runs:—

"Happy is that time when, gazing on thy face, I am beside myself.
From time to time I come to myself, and again and again I am beside myself."

He wrote:—

"It is not from wine at thy feast that I am beside myself.
The cup kisses thy lip, and it is from jealousy that I am beside myself."

[1] Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī.

CLXI. Vāqi'ī of Hirāt.[1]

His name is Ibn 'Alī, and he was in the emperor's service. The following verses are by him:—

"Thy brow is not furrowed from coquetry.
The ocean of thy beauty is rising in billows, and this is the reason of those furrows.
Thou art still intoxicated with the wine of coquetry
As is evident, my dark beauty, from thy arrogance.
Why, like the candle, should I bring the fire of my heart to my tongue?
Since its fire is clearly to be seen in the fiery sighs which I heave.
What need is there of the new moon on the night of 'Īd
To thee, from the opening in whose sleeve the new moon is apparent?"

"Her two ruby lips have between them the water of life. 383
True it is that whenever two who are friends to the death come together there is ever a life between them." [2]

"As no dust settles on the mirror so my heart is vexed by nobody.
For I have ceased to hope for manhood from the people of this age."

"Happy is that state of intoxication which leads me enraptured to thee
And is so deep that I cannot be removed from thy street."

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[1] The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions Ibn'Alī under the *takhallus* of *Vāṣiqī* but gives no information regarding him. The one couplet of his there quoted is not quoted here, so that it cannot be determined whether the Vāṣiqī of the *Ṭabaqāt* is the Vāqi'ī here mentioned; but Vāṣiq'ī is not improbably a copyist's error for Vāqi'ī.

[2] *i.e.* whenever two such friends meet there is always between them the thought that each is prepared to give his life for the other.

"In my unrest I am ever seized by the desire of visiting the street of that moonlike beauty.
But the thought of her infidelities arrests me by the way."

"Her ringlet trembles on her cheek with the zephyr of my sigh
As the smoke of the candle trembles in the passing breeze."

CLXII. Vaṣfī.

His name is Mīr 'Abdu-'llāh [1] and he is an excellent penman. He is the pupil of Shāh Ghiyāṣ and Maulānā Rāqimī, and writes seven scripts. He is enrolled among the *aḥadīs*. Through his mother he is related to Mirzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. He sometimes turns his attention to poetry. The following verses are his:—

"Now that I have experienced the sweetness of love's sorrow
I enjoy a thousand bursts of weeping for every laugh of mine."

A quatrain.

"Where is love? For my inner self is dark as the darkest night:
The secrets of God are hidden from my understanding.
It may be that love will lead me to them, but, if not,
384 Then is the end of my journey far indeed from my lame efforts."

Another quatrain.

"If a poet form the intention of eulogizing thy greatness,
His thoughts are imprisoned in his mind by the weightiness of the subject.
In thy reign strife has so disappeared from our midst
That the flame sympathizes with the cotton in its constancy." [2]

[1] Mīr 'Abdu-'llāh is mentioned in the *Ain* (i, 108) as one of the renowned caligraphers of the age.

[2] *i.e.* even the flame of the candle sympathizes with the wick.

CLXIII. Vaṣlī.

He was a facetious and jovial man. Leaving 'Irāq he went on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz and thence travelled for India by sea. The sailors ran the ship into a whirlpool and disappeared in the sea of annihilation, but he, reaching the shore of safety; entered the dominions of (Ibrāhīm) Quṭb Shāh [1] of the Dakan. There he engaged in a wrestling bout with one of the wrestlers of that country, and threw him. The wrestler's comrades, actuated by envy and rancour, put some poison into Vaṣlī's cup. The catastrophe of his death occurred in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). The following verses are quoted as a memorial of him:—

"My heart goes warily along its road, and I fear
That some sorrow is following it."

"My darling, thou art become so harsh-tempered
That no one can surpass thee in harshness of temper."

CLXIV. Vuqūfī of Hirāt.

He was originally known as Mīr Wā'iẓ ('the preacher') and was a native of Badakhshān. He held stirring meetings for preaching. The following verses are his:—

"Though my head become the dust of thy path and be carried away on the breeze, 385
It is impossible that the thought of thy face should leave my memory."

"My heart is disturbed, as are thy tresses in the breeze;
Thou hast not undone even the smallest [2] knot in my string of difficulties."

[1] Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (A.D. 1550-1580) was the fourth king of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 61, 217, 236.

[2] There is a play upon words here which cannot be reproduced in a translation. The words مو سر ('end of a hair') are used to describe anything very small

"All at once I have become the whirlwind of the valley of grief,
On account of my evil passions I am become a vagabond in the world."

"The tale of my grief and woe has passed all bounds,
Love has come upon me and has made me his own from head to foot."

CLXV. Vafā'ī of Iṣfahān.[1]

He was for some time in Kashmir, and then come to Lāhor and was with Zain Khān Kūka.[2] The following verses are his :—

"Knock at the door of the heart in the middle of the night, for when the day appears
All other doors are opened, but this door is shut."

"The real dearth of fidelity is this, that the lovely ones of this age.
Set out the well-spread table and then drink the heart's blood of the guest."

CLXVI. Hamdamī.

He is Mīrzā Barkhurdār,[3] who has the title of Khān-i-'Ālam.

[1] According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzarī* Vafā'ī belonged to the 'Imādiyyah Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān. His quatrains are good. Dāghistānī calls him a Turk and says that he was at first an ironer of clothes. From a defect in one of his eyes he was called *Vafā'ī-yi-kūr*, or the blind Vafā' Dāghistānī adds that his impudent flattery was proverbial. In the *Āīnī* (i, 592) he is thus described, He possesses sparks of taste. He wandered for some time in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.'

[2] *Vide* p. 327.

[3] Mīrzā Barkhurdār was, in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, a commander of two hundred and fifty. His father had been killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat, who was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on payment of a heavy *pīshkash* he was allowed to return to his home. Barkhurdār, however, who wished to avenge the death of his father, laid wait for him, but Dalpat managed to escape. Akbar was much annoyed with Barkhurdār and imprisoned him. He was released after the accession of Jahāngīr, and in 1611 accompanied an embassy to Persia. The embassy returned in 1620 and Barkhurdār was made a commander of five thousand. On Shāhjahān's accession he was made governor of Bihār and a commander of six thousand, but was very soon removed from Bihār. In 1632 he was pensioned off as he was old and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one *lakh* of rupees. He died a natural death at Āgra. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 512.

He is the son of Hamdam Beg[1] who was one of the famous *amīrs* of his late majesty. Hamdami is well known for his bravery and his goodness of disposition. He used to occupy himself with poetry. The following couplet is his :—

"See my heart, which has on every part of it a fresh scar caused by love's madness ;
It is an ocean of grief and everywhere in it there is a whirlpool of blood." 386

In imitation of that *ghazal* of Āṣafī's, which begins :—

"My slayer closes her eyes at my dying gasps
Until my heart longs with regret to catch her gaze."

He wrote, by the emperor's order, the following :—

"The arrow of that slayer came and passed through my heart,
And the scar remains on my heart till the day of resurrection."

Shaikh Faiẓī, at the time when this *ghazal* was under discussion at Āgra, wrote the following :—

"Place thy foot on it (my heart),[2] "O slayer, as I gasp in death,
That thus I may have an opportunity of kissing thy foot."

At this time (Faiẓī) produced many *ghazals* of this sort from his *dīvān* and dressed them up to suit the emperor's taste.[3]

[1] According to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 465) Barkhurdār's father was 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Dūldaī. Hamdam Beg was apparently his title. Dūldai is the name of a branch of the Barlās tribe

[2] I am not satisfied with the reading of this verse. I believe that the text is corrupt or that some context is required to convey the exact meaning, or that it is an example of Faiẓī's peculiar Persian.

[3] The subject of this sentence is not expressed. The sentence may refer to Hamdamī, but its contemptuous tone suggests that Faiẓī is indicated.

CLXVII. Hajrī. [1]

He is descended from his holiness Shaikh Jām, (may God hallow his tomb). He was very pious, chaste, and pure, and had an angelic disposition. He has compiled a *dīvān* consisting of five thousand couplets. The following verses are some of the products of his genius :—

A quatrain.

"O Rose to whose skirt no hand can reach
We love Thy name and are intoxicated by Thy perfume!
This is the marvel, that Thou art present and yet absent [2] from our midst
387 Thou art invisible, yet all that is visible is from Thee!"

An ode.

"It is the singer of the morning, joy-diffusing, that awakens desire in our hearts
The nightingale of early morn is welcomed as an intimate to the assembly of the Rose.
Become by the height of love's good fortune the *humā* [3] of the lote-tree of Paradise
For the garden and the scenery of this village (the world) oppress, the spirits.
Wash thy mouth with the water of repentance from the dregs of thy sins,
For thy life has been spent in transgression and the time for restraint has come.
Put on the breastplate of worship, for, ambushed by thy life's way,
The robber of thy time stands to meet thee,
With his blood-shedding sword in his hand.

[1] This poet is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann, referring, on p. 622 of vol. i of the *Āīn*, to another poet bearing the same *takhallus*, styles him 'Hijrī.' I prefer to connect the *takhallus* with هجر (*hajr*) rather than with هجرة (*hijrat*).

[2] *i.e.* invisible. This quatrain is *Ṣūfī*-istic—The 'Rose' is God.

[3] *Vide* p. 311 note 2. In this ode again the 'Rose' is God.

Make not this inn with two doors a palace for thine abiding
For strife makes rents in its walls and the wind of death is keen.
Hasan Hajrī in beauty of verse and in the way of perfection
Is the disciple of the wise man of Shīrāz and of the saint of Tabrīz." [1]

"Sweet is the season of winter, especially in the spring-time of youth
If the rose of joy blossoms from the cup of wine."

"Happy was that night when the street of the tavern was our resting place,
And the splendour of the cup-bearer's form was the lamp of the assembly.
The breeze of re-union with the Beloved gave us fresh life,
Or it would have been difficult to live under the hand of separation."

"In the morning, the time for the rose and the splendour of the tulip,
The voice of the ringdove brought subtle truths to our ears." 388

"My lodging is in the street of disgrace,
Its door is removed and its wall is mined."

"Yesterday I had a desire for the holy temple and made my way to the rose-garden,
I went and walked around [2] my loved one's lodging."

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[1] 'The saint of Tabrīz' is Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn-i-Rūmī. The identity of the wise man of Shīrāz' is not so certain. He may have been Sa'dī or Hāfiẓ probably the latter.

[2] طواف the ceremonial circumambulation performed around the *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

"The rose, perchance, came to the rose-garden from beneath my beloved's arm
For it has the sweet perfume of her shift."

"Whose spell-casting eyes have once more fluttered my heart?
Whose ringlets, diffusing ambergris, have once more become the chain for my madness of love?"

"I fear that my hard-hearted love will wreck the affairs of my soul.
Oh, may nobody have a love so hard-hearted as mine!"

"Who am I, fallen in the dust at her door? A helpless one,
A hopeless one, a friendless one, a destitute one."

"Ah, vagrant heart, thou hast chosen thy place in the dust at her door!
Thou hast found a good place for thyself."

"If thou desirest faithful friends.
I swear by thy fidelity that none is more faithful than I."

"Desirous of being with thee for an age I have sought to be with thee,
When I found that I could not be with thee I accustomed myself to thy absence."

CLXVIII. Hāshim.

He was that Muḥammad Hāshim who was mentioned [1] in connection with Bairam Khān, the Khānkhānān. He was 389
brother's son to Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad Unsī.[2] He wrote

[1] *Vide* vol. ii (text), p. 41, where Hāshim is mentioned as having sold to Bairām Khān for 60,000 *tankas*, a sum afterwards increased to 100,000 *tankas*, an ode which Bairām afterwards palmed off as his own Hāshim is there described as 'Hāshimī of Qandahār.'

[2] Possibly Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, one of Akbar's translators. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*,' i, 106, 540 and Badāonī, Vol. ii, text 595, 596: where he is described as a man of depraved mind.

poetry sometimes under the name of Samā'ī and sometimes under that of Vāfī, but at last settled on the poetical name (Hāshim) which is now given to him. He had most excellent taste in poetry. The following verses are his:—

"O turtle-dove, whatever thou bewailest in the garden
Thou must surely be thinking on her cypress-like form.
Like a sparrow I am caught in thy snare,
And thou neither slayest nor releasest me."

"I wander in the garden, when thy face is not before me, shedding tears of the colour of tulips,
I sit beneath each rose and tears of blood stream from my eyes.
In my grief for thee I am filled with blood as a flask is filled with wine, and I desire
To pour out at thy banquet-like wine the blood with which I am filled.
I shed not tears from my eyes except on the dust at thy door;
How shall I pour forth my honour in the dust at every door?
Remembering her wheat-coloured face I sow in the plot of desire
The grains of my tears which are the seeds of love's madness.

I, Hāshim, like the wine-flask, shed every moment red tears. while I sigh like an organ thinking on her wine-coloured lip."

"It is not thy mole, O silver bodied one, that casts its reflection in the wine,
It is the pupil of my eye, drowned in my heart's blood."

A quatrain.

"O thou whose ringlets are the fetters of my love-sick heart,
I am distracted by those two ringlets like ambergris in colour 390
and perfume.

Thou didst say 'Die then of the pain of love for me;
It is an age since I have been dying of this love."

It has been said before that the Khānkhānān, Bairam Khān bought one of his *ghazals* for a *lākh* of *tankas*. The ode was that which began.

"Who am I? one who has dropped from his hand the reins of his heart.
And has fallen by the hands of his heart in the road of grief."

His death occurred in the city of Lāhor, in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65).

Conclusion.

This is the account of some of those poets, most of whom were contemporary with the author and were writing during the time in which he was writing, and whose *dīvans* are current in this age and are circulated as examples. As for those who have leapt from the net of this memoir and are here neither described nor indicated by casual mention, I make them over to those who shall hereafter set foot in the plain of existence, for this series (of poets) is as endless as the *Burhán-i-Taṭbīq* [1], and to comprehend them all within the limits of one age, or one short space of time is beyond the limits (of any capacity) and beyond the extremity (of its powers).

A māṣnavī.

"Two couplets one day seared my heart,
As the singer was chanting them to his guitar
Many Junes, Decembers, and Aprils
Will come after we have become dust and bricks,
391 While those who are now invisible to me
Will come and pass over my dust."

Praise be to God! My pen, in its atrabiliousness, has, like a madman, dealt drily and coolly with everybody, and has poured out from the cup of its heart every drop of black bile which it

[1] I take this to be the name of a book. The words mean 'the demonstration of comparison.'

had in its spot of original sin [1] and given forth from the columns [2] of its fingers all that came to its tongue, so that (I am not sure) what those who come after we will say when, in their search for treasure [3] they have hastened [4] in the tracks of the crows' feet of this impudent (pen), [5] or what answer I shall give in respect of all my idle gossip. I fear that in accordance with the saying, 'Thou shalt be treated as thou hast treated others' they will deal with me as I have dealt with these poets.

"Thou hast called me a promise-breaker, but I fear
That this accusation will be laid to thy charge on the day of resurrection."

But there is here a subtle distinction if the discriminating neglect it not, and it is this, that I have apportioned eulogy and execration according to the canon of the unmistakable sacred law and have bestowed praise and blame in accordance with my zeal for the faith, and my case is similar to that of the boor who entered a company seated at table and began to eat without any regard to the others, and collected all the dishes round himself. One of the company said, 'Sir, who are you, and why do you thus intrude upon us?' He replied, 'I am a Turk, and I am a servant of the *dāroghu*,[6] and I am hungry.' But if others, besides myself, should be jealous for the faith I shall not resent their criticism; may, rather, my life is a sacrifice for those people who shall apprise me of my faults. But if they be not jealous for the faith let them hang their heads and hold their peace; for in truth the bird of my pen, with its sharp bill and its sublime

[1] سويدا (*suwaidā*) the black spot of original sin which the Musalmans believe to be in every heart.

[2] جداول 'ruled columns.

[3] The text has كجكاو and MS. (A) has كنجكا of neither of which can I make sense. كنجكاو the reading of MS. (B), given as a variant in the text, is correct.

[4] The text has وديدة. The variant دويدة given in the text on the authority of MS. (B) is correct.

[5] زاغ پاي كج كلاة. The letter ة at the end of كلاة is not in the text.

[6] Prefect of a town or village. In India, a police officer.

flight, is in the position of that beast [1] which shall come forth as the first sign of the Judgment Day, for it stamps on the fore-
392 heads of the circumstances of the folk of this last age the words 'this one is a Muslim,' or 'this one is an infidel,' exalting some to God's mercy and setting apart others as accursed, and the saying of the prophet (may God bless and assoil him,) is clear on this point, 'O God, I have not blessed in my prayers any but him whom Thou hast blessed, and I have not cursed in my cursings any but him whom Thou hast cursed." It is related that that chief of the prophets (may God bless and assoil him while the sun and the moon shall rise) invoked curses on the polytheistic 'Arabs and on the chiefs of the Quraish, and particularly on one mentioned by name, for a whole month after he had been slandered[2] by the wicked, and said, 'O God, curse the infidels, who stray from Thy way, who make Thy prophet a liar, and who slay Thy saints. Thou art Lord of this world and the next. O God, preserve me in safety, and join me to the pious!' And, since the end is but a return to the beginning, there is, in these days when the faith is exiled (for 'the faith appears as a stranger, and verily, it has become as it appears') every occasion for the constant recital of the following prayer, 'O God, assist him who assists the religion of Muḥammad and forsake him who forsakes the faith of Muḥammad!'

The author of the *Mirṣādu-l-'Ibād* [3] four hundred years ago uttered his complaint and said:—

"O kings of the earth, hasten, all of you,
That you may catch the perfume which is all that is left of the faith!

1 دابّة الارض, the beast which, according to the Musalmāns, is to come forth as the first sign of the coming Judgment Day, touching the believers with the staff of Moses and marking the faces of the infidels with the seal of Solomon.

2 The text has قذوت. MS. (A) has قذوت, which appears to be the correct reading.

3 I regret that I have been unable to find mention of this book, or of the name of its author. The meaning of the title is 'a highway for (God's) servants.'

Islām has gone from your hands, and ye heed it not;
Infidelity has captured the world, and ye sleep!"

Forsaking the custom of authors, who have in respect of each of their works, of whatever sort, a hundred hopes of favour from the age and from the people of the age, and, having dedicated a work to somebody, make it a means of being admitted to the intimacy of kings, of begging for rewards, and of attaining their objects I, without desire or expectation (of material gain but) seeking aid from God, trusting in Him, and firmly laying hold of 393
the skirt of his universal favour and his bounty well-known in bygone times, have placed these, my first fruits, on the dish of speech merely for the sake of virtuosos among those to come, who may be desirous of, and anxious for, information regarding our times, that haply its flavour may please the palates of their souls, and also that some relish from the morsels on the table of their favour may become the lot of the palate of the compiler of the work, who is, as it were, their gardener.

If thou drink wine, pour a draught out on the ground,
Fear not that sin which carries some gain to others.[1]

I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments.[2] Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be land-

1 *i.e.* pour a draught on the ground that those who are dead and turned to dust may benefit by it.' The conceit is a favourite one among Persian poets and occurs in the 'tomb-song' of Ḥāfiẓ (ode 439, Jarrett's edition), and frequently in the quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyām.

2 Literally 'potsherds.'

able, confirming the truth of the verse, 'These are they who have purchased error at the price of true direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful,'[1] I am convinced that the people of succeeding generations who shall see their false fables and all their unprofitable prolixity will, in accordance with the saying, 'he who hears dispenses with the solution of his difficulties,' with another class of men, regretful not in the least, be perplexed, and will expect and await (something else), and therefore, that the veil may be drawn aside, it is incumbent on me, who am acquainted with some, at least, of the affairs narrated,
394 and have even been intimately connected with these transactions, to place on record what I have seen and what I have heard, for my evidence regarding these things is that of an eye-witness who is certain of what he relates, and does not spring from mere supposition and guess-work ('and when can that which is heard resemble that which is seen?) in order that, on the one hand, my record may be an expiation of the writings,[2] past and present, which I have been compelled and directed to undertake, and, on the other, right may be proved to be on the side of the Muslim's and mercy may be shown to me.

'Perchance some pious man may one day put up a prayer for mercy for this poor wretch.'

And when I examine the matter well I perceive that this rough draft, and other rough drafts like it, have all the merits of fair copies, for, in conformity with the couplet.

Reduce a word at once to writing.
For words slip suddenly from one's memory,

Something, at least, of what the author knows whether by having seen occurrences or by having heard of them, is (at once) entered in them and reduced to writing. At the same time, to define such scribblings as literary compositions can, to do no more

[1] أُولَٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ اشْتَرَوُا الضَّلَالَةَ بِالْهُدَىٰ فَمَا رَبِحَتْ تِّجَارَتُهُمْ *Qur'ān*, ii, 15.

[2] Badāonī here refers to the works undertaken by him under the orders of Akbar, *viz.*:—the translation of the *Mahābhārata* and the compilation of parts of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, (vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 104, 199, and Badāonī, in text), 320, 399.

than justice, be nothing but mere boasting and vaunting, which are repugnant to refined natures, and so far am I from vain-glory and pride in this matter that I am ashamed of them, and if I should attempt any lofty flights regarding them this base coin of mine, this worthless and contemptible merchandise, my faulty and inappreciated style, is sufficient to refute and falsify my claim.

In these matters nobody knows me as well as I know myself.

A Story by way of Moral.

A fox said to a camel, 'O uncle,
Tell me truly whence you come.'
The camel replied, 'Lo, I come from the bath 395
Where I have bathed my limbs in water hot and cold.'
The fox said, 'You have fine proof of what you say,
For both your forelegs and your hindlegs are very dirty.'

It is now high time for me to raise the hand of supplication to the court of that Providence who lacks nothing and who cherishes his servants, and to ask of Him that which shall be most expedient for me, although His glorious majesty is fettered by no expediency. I shall therefore conclude with the following supplications, which are free from all spaciousness and elaboration, and are (therefore) not far from the assurance of a favourable answer.

Supplications.

O King, look upon us with the eye of acceptance and mercy! O Lord of all things, visible and invisible, compose us in the seeking of Thy will, and remove from our way, and from the way of all Muslims, all disunion, disquiet, and perplexity! Bestow Thy pardon and forgiveness on us in our time. Let Thy gracious favour and guidance both impel and lead us. Deliver us not up into the hands of our own disunion and leave us not to ourselves, neither entrust us with ourselves, but preserve us from our own wickedness, and bring our affairs and those of all Muslims to a happy conclusion in Thy pardon and acceptance. Pardon what we have done in the past and preserve us from what we would do in the future.

Whatever Thou bestowest on Thy servant, bestow on him faith,
Bestow on him adherence to Thy will.

Forsake us not in Thy wrath; let us not be occupied with any but Thee. Displace us not from Thy remembrance. If Thou shouldst question us we have no answer ready, if Thou art angry we have no strength to abide it. From Thy servant proceed faults and lapses, and from Thee all pardon and mercy. O Ancient of Days that changest not, and Glorious one without peer! O Hidden and Omniscient God, Thou that hearest and seest, that hast no need of description or explanation, our faults
396 are many, and Thou knowest and seest us: grant unto us a good end, let us die Muslims, and join us to the pious; and bless and assoil Muhammad and the race of Muḥammad, and all Thy prophets and apostles.

Look on me as though I were entirely free from disobedience,
Consider not mine offences, consider Thy mercy.
Ward off from me all the evils of the age,
Keep me afar from every evil that there is,
So direct for me all worldly affairs and religious matters,
That I may be free from want in both worlds.
By Thy favour Thou keepest me in safety
From the calamities and tumults of these latter days.
Thou accomplishest the desires of Thy poor servant,
Thou makest me a partaker of worldly and spiritual blessings.
Deliver me not helpless into the hands of mine own lusts,
But grant me protection from my dominant lusts.
Send me not as a beggar before any one,
My begging is at Thy door and no other.
Give me a portion of lawful gain,
Give me a corner apart from the worldly.
Pardon and veil my sin,
For it is Thou that veilest and pardonest sins.
Grant me knowledge of Thine eternal bounty,
Free me from ignorance and error.

Preserve me from companionship with the unworthy
Cause me to meet with a pious and sympathetic friend.
Set my face on the road towards Thee,
Free me from all else but Thee.
Accomplish not my desire in any object
The end of which will bring me shame.
No one but Thee knows what is for my good,
Thou knowest my loss and my profit.
Enrich me with the treasure of contentment,
Give me ease in the joy of serving Thee.
Incline me not to objects of this world,
Make my heart cold to such desires.
So accustom me to thoughts of Thee
That I may think on no other but Thee.
Open before me the door of knowledge of Thee
And in that privy chamber impart Thy secrets to me.
Give me a cup from the flagon of love
And grant me, from that wine, a new intoxication.
So fashion my inclinations to the world to come 397
That I may no more desire the things of this world.
Though death shall rend my upper garment
Let not the dust of this world settle on my lower garment.
When the sword of death cleaves my life,
When 'Azāzil [1] shall resolve to accept the faith,
Of Thy mercy cast one glance towards me,
Open in my face the door of Thy favour,
Declare to me the glad tidings of Thy gracious forgiveness.
That I may have rest in the sleep of death.
Grant unto me such power that, in that perplexity,
My cross-examination [2] may be easy to me.

1 Satan.

2 After a corpse is laid in the grave it is visited by Munkir and Nakir, two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, who order the dead person to sit upright and examine him as to his faith. If he answer rightly they suffer the body to rest in peace and it is refreshed by the air of Paradise, but if not they beat him on the temples with iron maces. They then press the earth on the corpse, which is tormented till the day of resurrection.

When the people of this world set their faces towards the resurrection.
And raise their heads in bewilderment from the dust.
Captured, by their evil fate, in disobedience
Their faces blackened with shame for their sins,
When, in that confusion, in the heat of the Resurrection Day,
The rocks shall become water from the fierceness of the sun's rays,
When there shall not be, in all that plain full of grief
Any refuge but the shadow of the Most High,
Of Thy bounty, O Creator, Lord of many claims,
Cast the shadow of Thy favour on my head!
When the balance of justice is brought into the midst
And the deficiency and excess of all shall be made apparent,
When I shall have in my company mountains of sin,
Beside which the mountains shall seem no larger than a blade of grass,
It is not impossible to Thine illimitable mercy
To weigh down the scale of my obedience:
In that place of fear and confusion
When the records of each one's acts shall fly open
And my record shall be so black
That it will be impossible to enter any fresh sin therein,
Wash my record with the cloud of Thy clemency,
And, by that washing, raise me to honour:
When the fire of hell shall leap forth as a banner
To draw to itself all the people of the world
Pour, of Thy grace, some water on my fire
And bring me forth purified from that fire.
When over hell the narrow bridge [1] shall appear

[1] الصراط (*aṣ-ṣirāṭ*) the bridge over the midst of hell, which is here graphically described, must be passed by all after the Judgment. Muḥammad and his Muslims will, with God's aid, pass rapidly over its path, narrower and sharper than the edge of a knife, but the unbelievers, following them, will lose their footing, and fall through the briars, which hedge it in on either side, into the flames of hell.

And the people shall raise a shout for joy,[1]
That bridge, long as the dark nights of separation,
Soul-melting as the sighs from lovers' hearts,
Narrower than a hair,
Darker than the smoke of the night of separation,
Sharper than a sharp cutting sword,
Shooting forth tongues of flame like hell fire,
If Thou take me not by the hand, woe is me,
For the nethermost pit of hell will be my place!
I bring no goods with me but hope,
O God, make me not hopeless of forgiveness!

Praise be to God, and thanks, that after all this smearing of myself with the smoke of the midnight lamp and all this fever of the brain I have gained freedom from this hasty work. Ah, how much distraction have I not suffered at the hands of these troubled times, before this valuable coin of time (to complete my work) and this priceless jewel (the work itself) was obtained.

Please God this work will, for a while, be preserved from the treachery of lack of preservation,[2] of faithlessness, or of evil guardianship, and will thus be safeguarded from the picking and stealing of the ignorant cutpurses of this age, and, being con-

[1] نشاط. Joy does not, at first sight, appear to be an emotion suitable to the occasion. The meaning may be either that men will be overjoyed to see that hell is bridged at all, or that the devils in hell will rejoice to see that the bridge is so perilous.

[2] Badāonī here declares his intention of keeping this work, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tavārīkh*, a secret. His anxiety that it should not become known during his life-time will be easily understood by anybody who has read it. He designed it to be a counterblast, in the interests of Islām, to the writings of Abū-l-Faẓl and his elder brother Faiẓī, who had borne the chief part in leading Akbar into the paths of religious speculation and had so far succeeded in leading him away from orthodoxy as almost to persuade him that he was God. According to a statement in the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* the book was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāonī's children that they had not known of its existence. Badāonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616), the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which year the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history besides the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma*.

stantly hidden under the protection of God's guardianship, will receive the ornament of acceptance, and no damage will reach it from the evil eyes of squinting (rogues) of varying degrees,[1] and the hands of impotent (foes) will fail to reach the skirt of the beauty of this creature of my wit, and whoever is not admitted to the knowledge of its secret will remain disappointed.

A thousand thanks to the God of the world.
For that I have entrusted my jewel to one who can appraise jewels.

It was the intention of my languid and secretive[2] heart and my wearied mind to gather together the "*Key to the History of Kashmīr*,[3] and the histories of the Kings of Gujarāt, Bengal and Sind, with an account of the wonders of India, and to have them bound together in one volume with this, but that stuff did not match this, for silk must be joined with silk. Therefore, on Friday, the twenty-third of the month *Jamādī'u-ṣ-Sānī* A.H. 1004 (March 5, A.D. 1595) I shortened the rope of prolixity and contented myself with writing this much. I composed the following verses with the object of giving, in an enigma, the date of its completion :—

Thanks be to God, by whose clemency this Selection[4] has arrived at completion
When I sought the date of it from my heart (my heart) replied
(It is) a selection which has no second.

Praise be to God whose assistance has enabled me to complete it, and blessings and peace be on the best of mankind, our lord

[1] Badāonī here does not hesitate to attack the highest.

[2] The text here has ساطر (*sāṭir*) 'a butcher,' or 'butcherly,' which makes no sense. MS. (A) has ساتر (*sātir*) which I have translated. Badāonī apparently refers again to his intention of keeping his book a secret.

[3] This was, apparently, the History of Kashmīr, based on that of Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, which Badāonī, by Akbar's order, compiled in A.D. 1591. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 374.

[4] The letters of the word انتخاب ('selection') have the following values, 1+50+400+600+1+2=1054. If we subtract the value of the *second* letter, 50, we obtain the date 1004.

Muḥammad, and on his family, and on his great companions, till the Day of Resurrection.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

P. 19, note 1, l. 20. For 'Farishtu' read 'Firishta.'
P. 43, note 4, l. 3. For 'Panipat' read 'Pānīpat.'
P. 45, note 2, l. 3. For 'Iyaltamish' read 'Iltutmish.'
Do. do. l. 5. For 'Farishta' read 'Firishta.'
P. 82, l. 9. For 'Riẓwān' read 'Riẓwān.'
P. 86, l. 3. After 'year' insert 'H.'
P. 94, l. 4. *Dele* 'and.'
P. 109, note 3, l. 1. For '*utūm*' read '*ulūm*.'
P. 115, l. 16. Between 'work' and 'Mīr' insert 'of.'
Do. l. 26. For 'My' read 'Thy.'
P. 125, note 2, l. 1. For 'Ṭāwawīs' read 'Ṭawāwīs.'
P. 130, ll. 1, 26. } For ''Abdu-u-nabī' read ''Abdu-n-
P. 131, ll. 12, 21, and *n.* 4, l. 6. } nabī.'
P. 139, note 3. For 'test' read 'text.'
P. 147, note 1, l. 3. For 'Steps to prophethood read 'Degrees in 'prophet-hood.'
P. 169, note 3. For مُتْقَابِلِينَ read مُتَقَابِلِينَ.
P. 173, note 1, l. 1. For 'Dilhī' read 'Dihlī.'
P. 178, note 1, l. 4. For 'Shāh' read 'Khān.'
P. 198, l. 19. For '*qaṣīdāh*' read '*qaṣīdah*.'
P. 210, note 6, l. 4 (on p. 211). For 'approbrious' read 'opprobrious.'
P. 216, note 2, l. 2. For 'Bījāpōr' read 'Bījāpūr.'
P. 217, l. 2. For 'Rākū' read 'Kākū.'
P. 239, l. 4. For '*Taẓkirāh*' read '*Taẓkirah*.'
P. 240, note 3, l. 2. For 'Badoānī' read 'Badāonī.'
P. 241, l. 16. For '*Ka'bāh*' read '*Ka'bah*.'
P. 246, last line. For '*Ṣubūḥī*' read 'Ṣabūḥī.'
P. 249, note 1, l. 1. For 'sleeps' read 'sleep.'
P. 262, note 1, l. 4. For 'Shāmlā' read 'Shāmlū.'
P. 283, note 4, l. 6. For 'Taimūr' read 'Tīmūr.'
P. 300, l. 14. For 'lives' read 'lines.'
P. 318, note 2, l. 14. For '*takhalus*' read '*takhallus*.'
P. 329, note 1, l. 8. For '*bīghas*' read '*bīghas*.'
P. 348, note 2, ll. 1 and 2. For 'conservation' read 'conversation.'
P. 362, l. 14. For ''*Aqil*' read '*Āqil*.'
P. 376. For note 3, substitute 'The poem by Jāmī.'

P. 405, note 3. For 'magians' read 'Magians.'
P. 408, l. 24. For 'Fusīnī' read 'Fusūnī.'
P. 425, note 5, l. 1. For 'Salaimān' read 'Sulaimān.'
P. 436, l. 1. For 'Shīrār' read 'Shīrāz.'
P. 473, l. 17. For 'Majnīms' read 'Majnūns.'
Do. note 1, l. 9. For '*Ṣafāvīyya*' read '*Ṣafaviyya*.'
P. 493, l. 19. For 'Naṣiḥī' read 'Naṣīḥī.'
Do. note 2. Insert "397" after 'p.' and *dele* "note."
P. 495, note 3, l. 2 (on p. 496). For 'Sāqīrāma' read '*Sāqīnāma*'
P. 530, l. 19. For 'Muslinis' read 'Muslims.'